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Kappa, Katherine

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A linguistic ethnographic study of how strangers establish practices for working together within international development

Katherine Kappa
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Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language use
University of Copenhagen

Supervisor
Associate Professor Janus Mortensen
University of Copenhagen

Co-supervisor
Professor Katrijn Maryns
Ghent University

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Summary

This thesis investigates the emergence of various social phenomena in a transient social configuration. The transient social configuration manifests as an 8-day 'project visit'. This visit is carried out by three new volunteers from a political solidarity organization who have not worked together with the three permanent staff members in their partner organization. All together they have to attend to various bureaucratic tasks related to monitoring and planning development projects. The thesis addresses the question of how these six participants come to socially organize their shared activities over the course of the eight days.

The research is designed as a linguistic ethnographic case study and anchored in the sociological realist view of an analytically stratifiable social world. The study combines ethnographic field work with linguistic analyses of interactional data, as well as interviews before, during, and after the project visit. To analyze the data, an inductive approach was adopted, which resulted in different objects of analysis on different scales of context.

The first part of the thesis reveals how establishing a shared body of knowledge is crucial for the participants to be able to carry out the institutional tasks. First, adopting Conversation Analysis to analyze interactional data, the analyses show the emergence of discursive practices around mitigating knowledge asymmetries. Second, based on meaning segmentation of interview data, the participants tie in perceptions of knowledge asymmetries with expectations around role distribution. The first part of the thesis concludes that an unequal distribution of knowledge can impinge on how joint activities come to be socially organized.

The second part of this thesis is a transcontextual analysis of the process of writing a development project, the most time-consuming task during the project visit. To draw out the multiscalarity of the text production process, various concepts are applied to microanalyses of interactional data and combined with meaning segmentation of interview data. The analyses reveal the emergence of text production practices and project language as a register. These are argued to emerge in situated encounters through a reflexive relationship between participants' sense-making and their operationalization of the broader institutional order during the writing process.

The thesis offers a theoretical and empirical understanding of the concept of transient social configurations by illuminating the various factors which can shape these social settings. In this light, the study expands sociolinguistic theory with its longitudinal account of various social processes. Finally, the study offers a rich linguistic ethnographic anchoring to studies of development encounters which have thus far paid marginal attention to the communicative practices that underpin development work.

Resumé

Denne afhandling undersøger, hvordan sociale fænomener opstår i et midlertidigt arbejdsfællesskab (*a transient social configuration*). Arbejdsfællesskabet, der undersøges her, er et såkaldt projektbesøg i et udviklingsprojekt. Deltagerne i besøget er tre nye frivillige fra en politisk solidaritetsorganisation, som ikke tidligere har samarbejdet med de tre fastansatte medarbejdere i partnerorganisationen. Tilsammen skal de løse en række bureaukratiske opgaver relateret til monitorering og planlægning af udviklingsprojekter. Afhandlingen adresserer spørgsmålet om, hvordan disse seks deltagere finder ud af at organisere deres fælles aktiviteter i løbet af besøgets otte dage. Undersøgelsen er designet som et sprogligt-etnografisk case studie, forankret i det realistiske perspektiv på en niveaudelt social verden. Undersøgelsen kombinerer etnografisk feltarbejde med sproglige analyser af interaktionsdata, såvel som med interviews udført før, under og efter partnerbesøget. De indsamlede data er analyseret ved hjælp af en induktiv tilgang, hvilket resulterede i flere forskellige analyseobjekter på forskellige kontekstniveauer.

Første del af afhandlingen viser, at etableringen af fælles viden er afgørende for, at deltagerne kan udføre de institutionelle opgaver. Her viser samtaleanalysen af interaktionsdata, hvorledes diskursive praksisser opstår omkring og påvirkes af vidensasymmetrier. Herefter viser en tematisk kodning af interviewdata, hvordan deltagerne sammenkæder deres opfattelser af vidensasymmetrier med forventninger til rollefordeling. Første del af analysen konkluderer at en ulige fordeling af viden kan påvirke, hvordan fælles aktiviteter organiseres i et socialt fællesskab.

I anden del af afhandlingen analyseres den mest tidskrævende opgave i løbet af projektbesøget, nemlig processen med at skrive udviklingsprojekter. For at sætte fokus på de mange niveauer i tekstproduktionsprocessen kombineres mikroanalyse af interaktionsdata med tematisk kodning af interviewdata. Disse analyser afslører, hvordan tekstproduktionspraksisser opstår, og hvordan projektsprog bliver til et register. Der argumenteres for, at begge dele opstår i situerede møder gennem et refleksivt forhold mellem deltagernes betydningsdannelse og den bredere institutionelle orden.

Afhandlingen bidrager til en teoretisk og empirisk forståelse af konceptet *transient social configurations* ved at kaste lys over de forskellige faktorer, som kan påvirke sådanne sociale kontekster. Fra dette perspektiv udbygger undersøgelsen sociolingvistisk teori med en longitudinel forståelse af sociale processer. Endelig er undersøgelsens rige sprogligt-etnografiske forankring et nyt bidrag til studier af udviklingsmøder, et felt der hidtil kun i meget begrænset omfang har rettet opmærksomheden mod de kommunikative praksisser, der understøtter udviklingsarbejde.

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To say that a PhD is a solitary endeavor is only half the story. It actually takes a small village to get through it. In this acknowledgement, I want to express my heartfelt gratitude to the people that have been my 'village' in the last three years.

First and foremost, this study would not exist without the trust of the study participants who invited me into their lives. The case of eSwatini, formerly known as Swaziland, and the partnership described in this study, is complex and precarious. I am indebted to the people that I met through this research, and I can only hope that I have represented the work they have done and continue to do towards realizing their vision of eSwatini with fairness.

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1

1. Introduction

This study is a longitudinal investigation of how people who have no shared work history together come to socially organize their joint activities. In other words, how is it that people from various sociocultural, linguistic, and professional backgrounds move from meeting for the first time to establishing ways of working together on a joint task, and what are the various factors that can shape this process? Scenarios where relative strangers have to work together can be seen as increasingly commonplace in various industries today, partly as a result of growing conditions of diversity (cf. Lønsmann, Hazel, & Haberland, 2017; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011) and partly as a result of staff turnovers, organizational changes, and project-based work. What this means in turn is that establishing ways of working together becomes a matter to be explored alongside tackling joint tasks. Despite the growing occurrence of such scenarios, little is currently known about the dynamics within them.

This study focus is derived from an interdisciplinary research project that investigates what has been called transient social configurations (Mortensen, 2017), that is, "configurations where people from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds come together (physically or otherwise) for a limited period of time around a shared activity" (Mortensen and Hazel, 2017, p. 256). The project hypothesizes that adopting transience as an analytical lens allows us to trace social processes as they "unfold in an interplay between new social dynamics and historical chains of continuity" (Mortensen, 2016; see also elaborations to follow in this chapter and in Chapter 2). The transient social configuration in this study is nested within a well-established institutional and ideological framework (see Section 1.1). Following from this, the core research interest of this study is to explore the emergence of social phenomena and to what extent these can be seen as *in situ* accomplishments. Furthermore, I explore the participants' role and sense-making as part of these processes.

1.1. A linguistic ethnographic case study

This study is designed as a linguistic ethnographic case study of one transient social configuration (I explain my methodology in the following sections and in Chapter 3). This transient social configuration is formed as part of a partnership between two

organizations within international development work[1]. More specifically, it manifests as three new volunteers from one organization, Nordic Solidarity, going on a project visit to Swaziland to collaborate with three permanent staff members from the partner organization, Swazi Democracy (an ethnographic account of the partner organization and project visit is presented in Chapter 4).

Nordic Solidarity is the anonymized name for a political solidarity organization from the Global North[2] that supports grassroots democratic movements around Africa. Nordic Solidarity operates by putting pressure on global political actors, and mediates between development aid donors and local African partners by carrying out various bureaucratic tasks and acquiring donor funding. This work is largely carried out by volunteers for whom it is often their first time working within development. Characteristically to development organizations as a whole, Nordic Solidarity faces a high turnover of staff (Mawdsley, Townsend, Porter, & Oakley, 2002; Tesseur, 2019) as its volunteers are typically university students with changing life priorities.

On the other side of this partnership is a political civil society organization which I have called Swazi Democracy, based in Swaziland[3]. This organization exists within the context of one of the last absolute monarchies in the world, which is reported to function as an authoritarian regime (Rooney, 2018). Swazi Democracy and its many affiliate organizations seek to challenge this regime to introduce multi-party democracy and eliminate poverty in the country. This organization is dependent on donor funding[4] in propelling their political movement, which they get access to through their partnership with Nordic Solidarity by creating and implementing development projects together (the history of this partnership is discussed in Chapter 4, while development projects are elaborated on in Chapters 4 and 9)

While these two organizations have been partners for nearly a decade, there is less stability to be found in the people who carry out the partnership. Throughout the

[1] I use 'development', 'international development', and 'development work' interchangeably to refer to various organizations, ideologies, and institutional practices which seek to establish an equal quality of life around the world (Rist & Camiller, 2014, p. 10-13). This terminology is reflected in development literature as well as used by the research participants themselves.

[2] Global North and Global South are in this study used as emic terms, although these terms have a problematic history. Global North refers to materially rich industrialized countries, while Global South to the opposite. In fact, Global North and Global South have become widely adopted as an alternative to "First World/Third World" and "developed/developing" countries. Although I use these terms in the absence of more suitable ones, I nevertheless align with critics who argue that this binary distinction is questionable (cf. Eriksen, 2015).

[3] The King of Swaziland legally changed the country's name to eSwatini in April 2018 (Chutel, 2018; Wexler, 2019), which took place half-way into my PhD. However, since the field work took place in 2017 and the participants in my data refer to the country as Swaziland, to minimize the confusion for the reader, I refer to eSwatini by its former legal name – Swaziland.

[4] Within development, donors can be international, local, governmental etc. In this case, the two donors in question consist of a governmental and a multinational donor (see Section 4.3 for elaboration).

course of this partnership, a number of delegations made up of different, and frequently changing, Nordic Solidarity volunteers have been to Swaziland to either conduct project monitoring or write new development projects to acquire further donor funding. Meanwhile, the partners in Swazi Democracy have largely remained the same since the establishment of this organization. In other words, this partnership is maintained by a number of transient social configurations forming and dissolving, with the Swazi partners being the only constant throughout the years.

This case study revolves around one such Nordic Solidarity delegation going on a project visit to Swaziland to carry out two tasks - monitor an ongoing project and formulate a new project with which to apply for further donor funding from two different donors. How these tasks are carried out and how the participants make sense of their role in this process are precisely the themes explored from various angles in this dissertation. However, the stakes are raised by the mere 8-day duration of this project visit, during which the participants aim to finalize the two rather time-consuming tasks. With no shared work history, shared body of knowledge, or guidelines to fall back on, this transient social configuration constitutes a rich case for exploring the emergence of various social phenomena from a longitudinal perspective.

1.2. Various influences on the framework of this study

A number of influences have had a substantial impact on how the present thesis has come to be designed and structured. It is important to explicate these influences from the start, as the reasoning for some of my choices in this thesis may not be readily apparent without metacommentary. In this section, I outline three major influences that have played a role in shaping this thesis. After this, I move on to outlining the specific analytical approach and foci in this study (Section 1.3).

First, this study is part of the collaborative research project *Transient Multilingual Communities and the Formation of Social and Linguistic Norms* (TMC, 2019), which first guided my case study choice. The project was designed to investigate five in-depth case studies in various professional contexts, one of them concerning NGO work. This suited my interests to the extent that I was keen to explore an industry that I presumed would be different from my prior work experiences in the corporate world. This prelude explains how I came to study international development work (but see full account of finding a research site in Section 3.3), which is an industry that I had no prior experience with nor any specific ambitions in with respect to career or research.

The TMC project itself seeks to understand and compare how members of

different transient multilingual communities[5] over time establish social and linguistic norms as part of their process of mutual socialization while carrying out their joint activities. The larger project is underpinned by a broad interest in discursive practices, identity, ideologies, and social structures (Mortensen, 2016). On the basis of these interests and assumptions about how mutual socialization processes can be analytically observed (see elaboration in Section 3.3), the TMC project poses research questions which have been intentionally designed as broad enough to make space for the individual interests of participating researchers. These questions are:

1. How are members of TMCs able to utilize their diverse linguistic, social and cultural resources over time as part of their efforts to engage collaboratively in their joint project?

2. How are shared social and linguistic norms and practices developed over time in TMCs, and how do these processes affect the on-going collaboration?

These questions have provided a general starting point for designing the field work as a linguistic ethnography as well as guiding preliminary analyses of the collected data (as explained in Chapter 3). Furthermore, inspired by the design of the overall research project and its guiding questions, the early analytical process has been largely inductive. It is the phenomena that have emerged as salient in the data that have subsequently, closely following the analytical process, informed more concrete research questions specific to this study, as well as relevant analytical tools and theoretical concepts (see outline in Section 1.3). Following repeated engagement with the dataset, the study therefore explores two analytical themes that emerged as most salient in the data and which provide different angles to understanding the transient social configuration in question.

Alongside the TMC project's research aims, this study has also been influenced by my intention to expand upon my training in Conversation Analysis (Sacks, 1992; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) and interest in institutional talk (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage & Clayman, 2010). Designing this study as a linguistic ethnography has required to me collect types of data that I had not worked with before this PhD project. This attempt to expand my methodological toolkit has also brought out a new interest in me in terms of reflecting on the constraints and affordances of using different methods to analyze different types of data, as well as the kind of insight into

[5] In this thesis I have adapted the term 'transient multilingual community' to 'transient social configuration' instead. One reason for this is rooted in my choice to delimit my analytical focus on the multilingual nature of the project visit. The other reason stems from the issues involved with the concept of community (Morgan 2009, Patrick 2003, Rampton 2000), which has resulted in the use of alternative terminology e.g. 'transient multilingual configurations' (Mortensen, team meetings), transient project groups (Hazel, 2017).

social life various data and methods make possible. This interest shows most clearly in my multi-method approach in exploring various social phenomena in this transient social configuration. As I explain in more detail in Section 1.3 and in Chapter 3, I employ different analytical tools and concepts in this thesis to explore salient social phenomena that fall under the two main themes. While this makes the structure and design of this thesis more complicated than it necessarily needs to be, the choices I have made represent my scholarly interest in this transient social configuration, both as an empirical phenomenon as well as an exploration of what different analytical approaches can reveal about this, and potentially other, transient social configurations. However, discussing the affordances of different approaches is not a goal in its own right in this thesis, although I do comment on my methodological choices along the way where relevant.

Finally, the overall framework of this thesis has also been influenced by my early-stage paper presentations. With the wisdom of hindsight, I was firmly in my comfort zone of privileging interactional data in the early phase of my PhD. Understandably, then, I was repeatedly called out by different academic audiences to look beyond the interactional data. Furthermore, since development work as such remained thoroughly unfamiliar to me until much later in my analytical process, I was unprepared for the early critical comments from various academic audiences with strong opinions on development. To be more specific, different audience members urged me to focus on the role of power in my data, specifically with respect to the institutional context and colonial history preceding international development. Taking this audience response seriously, I dove into literature on development studies, and subsequently began to explore the relation between what people do in the here-and-now and the broader historical, institutional, political as well as sociocultural framework which they can be seen navigating within this transient social configuration.

In the following section, I outline my approach to analyzing the two themes that emerged from my analyses.

1.3. Two analytical focus points

The two analytical focus points in this thesis have been formulated into Part I and Part II, each of which explores the transient social configuration from one thematic angle. Each focus point is guided by its own research questions to analyze different salient phenomena. For both focus points, I employ different methods, analytical concepts, and explore different bodies of literature related to the theme. In short, this study is primarily empirical rather than theory-driven, although still guided by theoretical assumptions related to transient social configurations.

While there are many differences between the two analytical focus points, as I outline next, there is one important similarity - in both themes I focus on emergent discursive practices as well as what the participants say about their role in them. This dual focus on what people do and what people say is informed by the idea that to look at participants' observable conduct is not comparable to investigating what people think about their experiences along the way (cf. Schnurr & Zayts, 2017). As a result, the two should not be conflated, nor one subsumed under or privileged over the other. Instead, I treat observable conduct and participant accounts as particular vantage points from which to understand different aspects about social life. This is essentially a sociological realist position, which I indeed adopt in this thesis and which I find useful for dissecting the social processes that can be observed in this transient social configuration (I explain my ontological stance in Chapter 3).

In the following, I explain the two analytical focus points in this thesis in more detail.

1.3.1. Part I: Working towards a shared body of knowledge

One salient observation in the data concerns the participants' orientation to knowledge asymmetries between them, during and beyond the project visit, as evidenced both in displayed conduct and in their interviews. The participants treat knowledge asymmetries as consequential to realizing their joint tasks. This indicates that investigating the process of how they address knowledge asymmetries is a worthwhile avenue to pursue in order to understand how participants unfamiliar with one another can establish some form of shared body of knowledge to accomplish their tasks. Subsequently, Part I of this thesis is organized around the theme of how knowledge asymmetries are interactionally dealt with, guided by the following research question:

RQ1: How can the participants be seen to work towards a shared body of knowledge over time?

I explicate key theoretical concepts such as knowledge, knowledge asymmetries, and shared knowledge in Chapter 5. To answer this question, I adopt Conversation Analysis (CA) of institutional talk (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage & Clayman, 2010) and epistemics in interaction (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b, 2013), a methodological choice which I argue for in Section 3.2.1.1. This analytical approach is adopted to uncover the *interactional methods* with which participants can be seen to employ in mitigating knowledge asymmetries and thereby working towards some form of shared knowledge over time (see analysis in Chapter 6).

Uniquely to Part I of this thesis, I analyze observable conduct and participant

accounts as 'social domains' (Layder, 1997, 1998) in their own right, in order to draw out what the two data types independently reveal about the relevance of and role played by knowledge asymmetries in this transient social configuration. As a result, a second research question is posed to analyze the interview data:

RQ2: How does the perception of knowledge asymmetries influence participants' understanding of their role within the transient social configuration?

To answer this question, I adopt 'meaning segmentation' (Kvale, 2007, p. 106-107; see also explication in Section 3.2.1.2) of data generated from participant accounts and feedback sessions. The analysis itself is presented in Chapter 7.

The analytical observations in Part I can be summarized as follows. The participants not only treat knowledge asymmetries as consequential for carrying out their joint tasks, but can also be seen to attribute institutional roles and role-specific practices according to their epistemic orientations. As a result, institutional as well as epistemic orders emerge as part of the *in situ* established participation framework. Analyses of the interview data support and nuance these observations in that the participants reveal in their accounts their normative expectations around which participant should have what kind of knowledge as part of their role. These conclusions are crucial for discussing the role played by participants' unequally distributed knowledge resources, or 'heterogeneous resources' (Mortensen, 2017; see Section 2.1), in shaping the social organization within a transient social configuration.

However, the activities which the participants can be seen attending to are not the product of the participants' creative impetus, but bear traces of a broader institutional framework that constrains and enables the participants in various ways. The dynamic between *in situ* accomplishments and scales of contexts that transcend the situated encounters constitutes the analytical focus in Part II.

1.3.2. Part II: Writing a development project

In Part II of this thesis, I specifically investigate the process of writing a development project, the most time-consuming task during the project visit. In contrast to Part I's exclusive focus on two analytically stratified social domains, in Part II, I broaden the ethnographic scope and explore the interplay between situated encounters, participants, and the broader institutional framework in shaping the kinds of social phenomena that emerge from the process of planning and writing a development project. To this end, I pose two further research questions:

RQ3: How can the participants be seen to organize project writing as a reflexive manifestation of a broader institutional framework?

RQ4: How do the participants make sense of their role in the project writing process against the backdrop of a broader institutional framework?

My analytical approach to the second analytical theme can be treated as a linguistic ethnography (Copland, Shaw, & Snell, 2015; Rampton, 2007; Rampton, Maybin, & Roberts, 2015) within a linguistic ethnography. As an overall methodological approach, linguistic ethnography provides an interdisciplinary space for bringing in different types of data, analytical approaches, and concepts, guided by research interests (I explain my take on linguistic ethnography in Chapter 3). In addition to this, linguistic ethnographers share in common the aim of drawing out the complexity of various social settings, which aligns with my goal in Part II of this thesis. To this end, I carry out a kind of transcontextual analysis (as explained in Section 3.2.1.3 and Section 9.2) drawing from analyses of interactions, interviews, institutional texts, as well as institutional practices and ideologies made relevant by the data.

The analyses in Part II shine a light on the limits of the 'new' that can emerge in transient social configurations. As I show in Chapter 10, writing a development project can be seen to be embedded in historically and ideologically entrenched ideas about how to conduct international development. Aspects of this broader institutional framework are not socially constructed *in situ,* but rather operationalized by situated participants in specific communicative encounters. Analyses of the interview data further underscore the central role that participants play in shaping the project writing process through their expectations and conceptualizations of what it means to do development work.

Having now covered the two analytical foci and my approaches to investigating these, I move on to outlining the theoretical framework and contribution of this study.

1.4. Study contributions and theoretical frameworks

The present study is anchored in and contributes to two bodies of literature. First, I seek to expand the empirical and theoretical understanding of the role of transience in social life and the nature of transient social configurations. Second, the study offers an empirical perspective on communicative practices in development encounters. In this section, I sketch these bodies of literature, returning to them in much greater depth in Chapter 2.

1.4.1. Transience

Transience as a concept has thus far not enjoyed a great deal of theoretical or empirical attention. In this introductory section, I describe the broader research gap with respect to transience, while in Section 2.1 I discuss the growing body of research on transient social configurations.

Transience has thus far been spoken about in terms of people, such as nomads (Adler & Adler, 1999), moving around or in terms of indexical meaning-making processes (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Blommaert, 2013). Transience has not been at the center stage of inquiry due to a tendency towards a "synchronic 'snapshot' analysis" (Blommaert, 2013, p. 14) of social phenomena within sociolinguistics, linguistic ethnography, and linguistic anthropology (see also Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Mortensen, 2017). For instance, the emphasis is generally *not* on how certain ways of speaking and behaving come about through a longer process of indexicalization (Jaffe, 2016), enregisterment (Agha, 2007), innovation and acceleration of culture (Urban, 2001), or how communities of practice emerge over time (King, 2014). Instead, the emphasis is often on describing social phenomena as stable and socially constructed in situated contexts. This is an act that removes phenomena from the "dynamic lived experience and place[s] them at a timeless, static plane of general validity" (Blommaert, 2013, p. 26). Blommaert argues, drawing from Scollon and Scollon's work (2004), that described features of a social phenomenon should be taken as "temporary outcomes" of a "historical process of becoming" (Blommaert, 2013, p. 29). By adopting transience as an analytical perspective, one is forced to reconfigure one's analytical gaze from viewing social phenomena as stable objects of analysis and description, to taking an interest in the process of their emergence, transformation, and even their dissolution.

Blommaert (2017) further formulates this blindspot as "a preference for features believed to be less subject to rapid or radical change – as distinct from features seen as superficial, transient or less reliable as indicators of social structure" (Blommaert, 2017, p. 6). Blommaert goes on to explicate how it is units such as the state, family, guild, church, and social class that have been considered the backbone of society. His view is that any social group which displays lack of homogeneity and predictability has been considered of secondary value to understanding the workings of society. Taking this into consideration, Blommaert builds on Simmel (1950) and calls for an alternative approach: "if we intend to understand 'society as we know it', we need to examine these 'less conspicuous forms of relationships and kinds of interaction' not *instead of* but *alongside* [emphasis added to both] 'the major social formations'" (Blommaert, 2017, p. 8). The point, then, is not to do away with existing concepts altogether, but to expand our understanding of how social life operates

from a new analytical angle - that of change and transformation.

This has methodological and analytical implications. More specifically, it calls for longitudinal data and methods, as well as concepts that can explain the histories of our objects of analysis across multiple scales of context (Blommaert, 2013; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). In this way it is possible to trace how a particular social phenomenon emerges and transforms over time. Furthermore, and perhaps more crucially, it implies that when analyzing data, one cannot presume upon the stability of studied social phenomena, but should expect to find a continuous process of stabilization as well as emergence. To study social phenomena through the analytical lens of transience means to *empirically* dismantle the assumption of stability of communities, objects, and ideas, and rather investigate the process of their emergence, transformation, and dissolution. The present study constitutes one study in such a direction.

1.4.2. Anthropology of development

This study also contributes with empirical insight to development studies. This contribution is not the primary goal nor has it been intentional from the outset. However, it proved relevant as a result of engaging with development literature where I identified a notable absence of linguistic-ethnographic studies of development encounters[6], among otherwise very rich debates around international development[7]. The substantial empirical grounding that this study can offer to the field is important in the way that it can nuance existing discussions, although the extent to which I take on some of these debates is limited (see discussion in Chapter 11). In this introductory section, I only provide a broad outline of studies which take an interest in development work between organizations from the Global North and Global South, under the broad heading of 'the anthropology of development' (De Sardan, 2005; Gardner & Lewis, 2015; Mosse, 2013). Understanding the issues that development scholars and practitioners have discussed in relation to development encounters is also relevant as it helps contextualize the data in this study.

The present state of the art on development encounters can be broadly categorized into three trends. The first of the three trends aims to theoretically 'deconstruct' development work (e.g. Escobar, 1995; Ferguson, 1994; Sachs, 1992). Studies under this heading are considered by some scholars as ideological (De Sardan, 2005; Lewis & Mosse, 2006; Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2006) in the

[6] Development encounters are defined as meetings, however informal or formal, between development workers from the Global North and members of local organizations or communities.

[7] The analyses in this study are embedded in two debates, one on issues with development partnerships (Section 2.3) and one on the prevalence of managerialism (Section 9.3).

sense that deconstructivist studies are understood to view development as "a system of knowledge, practices, technologies, and power relationships" (Lewis & Mosse, 2006, p. 4) whereby Western countries can continue to dominate and control developing countries (Escobar, 1995). More recent studies have become more empirical and adopted Foucault's notion of governmentality to understand the agency of development actors (Crawford, 2003; Ferguson & Gupta, 2002).

The second trend of studies seeks to improve the practices of development by studying participant accounts and observations of what does not live up to idealized benchmarks of conducting development work. For instance, one such benchmark is the adoption of participatory approaches (e.g. Chambers, 1997) that "celebrate "indigenous" knowledge and "local" capabilities while denigrating global science and top-down technology transfer" (Lewis & Mosse, 2006, p. 3). Out of a desire to transform early international development from a top-down interventionist approach into being participatory, a number of buzzwords and ideologies have emerged and been widely adopted in the industry (Cornwall & Eade, 2010). The partnership ideology which plays a role in this study is one such example (see Section 2.3). This second strand of research has also been met with criticism. Namely, it is seen as "naïve" to privilege indigenous knowledges and traditions without determining their scientific value (De Sardan, 2005; Gardner & Lewis, 2015).

The third trend comes closest to the analytical approach taken in this study. It is made up of practitioners and scholars who seek to understand development by being "non-normative, empirical, and ethnographic" and by "pay[ing] equal attention to the social processes of policy and the informal relationships and real-life situations of development workers" (Lewis & Mosse, 2006, pp. 2-3) (e.g. studies by Crewe & Harrison, 1998; De Sardan, 2005; Lewis, 1998; Lewis & Mosse, 2006; Mosse 2005, Wallace et al., 2006). Some of these studies are also referred to as actor-oriented, following Norman Long's work (Long, 2001; Long & Long, 1992), meaning that they privilege the experiences and perspectives of the people carrying out development work.

None of the studies from the three strands of research have taken an interest in the complex communicative practices where participants can be seen navigating, (re)producing and being shaped by various development stakeholders, institutional structures, and ideologies. At a site which can be considered a tense and multilingual interactional space with various stakeholders, competing situated knowledges, and circulating ideologies (Mosse, 2013, p. 228), there is a dearth of studies which pay close attention to the communicative practices in the everyday interactions between development workers and the people they aim to serve (coming from a multilingual perspective, similar critiques have been provided by Gal, Kowalski, & Moore, 2015; Tesseur, 2017, 2019; Footitt, 2017; Tesseur & Footitt, 2019). At the time of writing, I

am only aware of ongoing linguistic anthropological PhD studies from Rosalie Edmonds (2018) and Jessica Pouchet (2018), who presented their early work at the panel on *The Politics of Language in NGOs: Communicative and Ideological Practices* at the American Anthropological Association conference in November 2018. The present study is therefore in a unique position to provide important empirical insight to the field of development studies.

1.5. Thesis structure

The first four chapters in this thesis introduce the overall framework and context of the study (Chapters 1 to 4). Chapter 1 is the present introductory chapter. In Chapter 2, I review existing literature on the two bodies of research that this study primarily contributes to. The second part of this chapter also doubles as a broader contextualization of development work. Chapter 3 presents the ontological and epistemological position taken in this study, as well as the chosen methodology. The second half of Chapter 3 accounts for my planning and carrying out of the field work and process of analyses. Chapter 4 is an ethnographic description of the participating partner organizations, the project visit, and the participants involved.

The following three chapters pertain to the first analytical theme (Part I of this thesis is comprised of Chapters 5 to 7). In Chapter 5, I outline my process of analysis specific to Part I, followed by an explication of the theoretical concepts and literature relevant to this analytical focus. Chapter 6 and Chapter 6 are analytical chapters where I analyze discursive practices and participant accounts, respectively, related to knowledge asymmetries.

Chapter 8 summarizes the analytical observations made in Part I and paves the way for the analytical focus in Part II.

The subsequent two chapters speak to the second analytical focus (Part II is comprised of Chapters 9 and 10). In Chapter 9, I first discuss my process of analysis specific to Part II. Thereafter, I expand the ethnographic scope by explicating the role of texts in development projects and in this particular case study. Chapter 11 presents the analysis with respect to the process of writing a development project.

In Chapter 12, I conclude the study and discuss these with respect to existing bodies of literature.

2

2. Literature review

This chapter comprises of literature reviews that expand on the bodies of literature that this study contributes to (following Section 1.4). In Section 2.1, I explain the concept of transient social configurations, provide a review of the small but growing body of empirical work on transient social settings, and outline the areas where this study can offer new insight. The two next sections concern development work. Section 2.2 contextualizes the project visit in its historical, political, and ideological framework, while Section 2.3 anchors the studied project visit in the debate on the nature of development partnerships. Although it is not my intention to further this debate, the idea of partnership frames why this group of people have come together in a project visit at all, and justifies why a linguistic anchoring is sorely missing in current discussions.

2.1. Transient social configurations

The notion of transient social configurations refers to what Mortensen (2017) has called 'transient multilingual communities' (henceforth referred to as TMC). A TMC has been defined as a configuration of people from various sociocultural, linguistic, but also professional, backgrounds who come together to engage in a shared activity for a limited period of time (Mortensen, 2017; Mortensen & Hazel, 2017). In a similar vein, but in considerably less conceptual detail, Blommaert refers to some groups as 'light communities' (2018, p. 68), and Pitzl as 'transient international groups' (2018). Although Pitzl and Blommaert use their terms as broad categories without providing an in-depth theoretical conceptualization of these in the way that Mortensen does, common to all three scholars is a call for an increased attention to the impact of transience on social life and for understanding the nature of more ephemeral social groupings. Seeking to understand how transient social configurations emerge, transform, and dissolve, is argued to yield a deeper understanding of the dynamicity of social life.

As mentioned, in this study, I take my point of departure in Mortensen's (2017) conceptualization of a TMC. Mortensen describes the prototypical features of a TMC as being emergent, heterogeneous, and focused around a shared activity. First, a TMC is *emergent* in the sense that a shared framework for ways of doing, speaking

and interpreting is a matter to be explored and established *in situ* rather than defined *a priori*. Mortensen hypothesizes that what makes this process of exploration less than straightforward is the idea of TMCs as *heterogenous*. The participants that make up a transient social configuration can bring with them different sociocultural, linguistic, and professional resources, frames of reference, as well as normative ideas about appropriate ways of speaking and behaving. Mortensen argues that these heterogeneous resources come to play a role in the way that a shared framework is established as an ongoing effort by the participants in a TMC. While Mortensen views a prototypical TMC as heterogenous across the board, Pitzl (2018, p. 31) brings out that transient social configurations can also be bilateral in terms of languages spoken or country origins, for example with several German speakers and Italian speakers in the same group. This point nuances Mortensen's idea on heterogeneity. In Pitzl's example, the German speakers would have, at the very minimum, shared linguistic resources, as would the Italian speakers. Depending on whether they also live in the same countries, or work in similar professions, the extent of potentially shared resources and frames of references may potentially also be greater. In other words, the question that raises its head in studying transient social configurations is not only how a potentially shared framework is established in a context of (presumed) heterogeneity, but also what resources are also *already* shared. The latter is a matter to be explored as much for the participants as it is for researchers interested in transient social configurations. Hazel's (2017) study of the emergence of multilingual practices in a theatre production group is a prime example of a group of people working out what linguistic resources they share in common and the variations of communicative practices, rooted in language choice, these make possible. Finally, a TMC is focused around a *shared activity*, which is often the reason for why a particular group of people comes together in the first place – whether that is to work on a shared project, or a fleeting encounter between a customer and a service provider.

On the basis of data from transnationally mobile student groups in higher education, Mortensen makes the argument that TMCs are a rich site for studying the process of how verbal and non-verbal modes as well as material objects are imbued with meaning, i.e. the real time process of "indexicality-in-the-making" (Mortensen, 2017, p. 283, drawing from Jaffe, 2016) in situated (transient) contexts. How do participants work out "how things are done around here" with "potentially no pre-established shared framework for what constitutes appropriate professional conduct" (Mortensen, 2017, p. 283)? And how are (language) ideologies formed, negotiated and contested "where participants may be drawing from radically different sociocultural experiences" (Mortensen, 2017, p. 283)? These are the questions that Mortensen proposes transience as an analytical lens can provide new insight on.

A growing body of research has emerged in the last decade on transient social

configurations that provide some answers to these questions, but more systematic analytical work remains to be done. At present, examples of what can be called transient social configurations and that have been analyzed are a theatre production group (Hazel, 2017), medical teams in operation theatres (Bezemer et al., 2016), informal English conversation meetings between volunteers and asylum seekers (Kappa, 2018), an international dinner party (Kappa, 2016), international workplaces (Lønsmann, 2017; Millar, 2017; Pitzl, 2018), neighborhood meetings (Goebel, 2010), sex education classes (King, 2014), transnationally mobile students navigating a city (Collins, 2012; Mortensen, 2017), and various fleeting encounters e.g. in higher education (Moore, 2017), tourism (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010; Adler & Adler, 1999), and public transportation (De Sapio, 2013). Most of these studies are quite recent attempts at taking transience as an analytical lens seriously – whether as a contextual factor that has an impact on participants' lived experience, or as a theoretical construct to be explored empirically. In the following, I draw out the specific areas of interest in these studies in order to carve out the area where the present study contributes to.

Several studies have focused on participants negotiating and establishing language choice in various transient settings (Hazel, 2017; Mortensen, 2017; Moore, 2017; Lønsmann, 2017). Others have demonstrated how participants work up shared practices around role distribution in a theatre production team (Hazel, 2017), how volunteers seek commonalities with language-learning asylum seekers (Kappa, 2018), how language comprehension issues come to be addressed in an international university (Moore, 2017), how one classroom establishes ways of discussing sex and sexuality (King, 2014), and how appropriate social conduct is established in an Indonesian urban milieu (Goebel, 2010), during language games between tourists and tour guides (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010), and during an international dinner party (Kappa, 2016). Furthermore, Lønsmann (2017), Pitzl (2018), Goebel (2010), and Bezemer et al. (2016) address the establishment of shared practices from the perspective of socialization, whether more explicitly or implicitly. Bezemer et al. (2016) show how surgeons verbally instruct unfamiliar nurses on medical tools, seemingly operating on the assumption that there are discrepancies in shared knowledge. Goebel (2010) discusses how women in an Indonesian urban neighborhood work up categories of personhood and thereby establish accepted ways of social conduct for newcomers to the neighborhood. Finally, Lønsmann stresses that language socialization can be mutual in transient settings e.g. when an English-speaking employee is intentionally hired to a Danish-speaking corporate team in an effort to promote internationalization. In a similar vein, Pitzl (2018) describes how participants mutually establish a shared 'Multilingual Resource Pool' comprising of idioms to use in their interactions, and Kappa (2016) analyzes how an

international group vaguely familiar with one another use joking to establish social norms during a dinner party. Drawing exclusively from interview data, a few studies discuss processes of indexicalization in situated transient scenarios. For instance, Millar (2017) outlines the valorization of various linguistic resources in a Danish corporate setting with internationally mobile staff, with Mortensen (2017) and Mortensen and Fabricius (2014) reporting of a similar case with transnationally mobile university students in Denmark.

Although these studies shine a light on the emergence of various highly selective social processes in different contexts, majority of these studies do not apply an explicitly longitudinal perspective on their data. Notable exceptions in this case are Hazel (2017) and King (2014) who illustrate how shared practices emerge over a longer period of time, but also Blommaert's (2013) linguistic landscape study of a neighborhood in Antwerp over a period of almost a decade is noteworthy in this regard. Furthermore, Kappa (2016), Moore (2017), Pitzl (2018), and Goebel (2010) study social processes in a shorter timeframe i.e. over the course of a few hours. The present study is interested in emergence of social phenomena over a longer period of time, that is, over the course of the full 8-days of the project visit. However, longitudinal analysis of communicative practices requires a reconfiguration of data collection and one's analytical gaze, an area that has only recently garnered serious interest (cf. Wagner, Pekarek-Doehler, & González-Martinez, 2018).

Acquiring longitudinal data is crucial for being able to trace the emergence, transformation, and dissolution of social phenomena (Mortensen, 2017; Blommaert, 2013). However, tracing emergence requires a certain measure of reflexivity about what is in fact observed in the data. To quote King, "[…] it cannot be presumed that a specific group of students and their teacher are engaged in a joint enterprise at all, let alone negotiating meanings and developing shared practices specific to such an enterprise" (2014, p. 65). In other words, King calls for empirically identifying that practices do in fact emerge *locally* as a creative negotiation of the participants involved, and is not a reproduction of routines that were not created by these specific participants. Here, King makes the example of flight attendants and passengers on a plane. King describes such a case as a matter of participants' co-alignment of "doing the commercial flight" (King, 2014, p. 64) as opposed to a creative impetus of the flight attendants and passengers to organize their co-existence on the plane in a specific way. Blommaert (2018, p. 65) reminds us that the same sentiment was expressed decades earlier by Bourdieu & Passeron, (1964, pp. 24-25) in the case of describing the practices of students' as a social group, as well as by Goffmann (1961) in his description of poker players, where participants share "just the rules of the encounters, but little beyond it" (Blommaert, 2018, p. 65). In this sense, not all transient scenarios seemingly possess the inherent capacity for *in situ* development

of communicative practices by participants. Either these settings may follow a well-known routine for the participants (Jaworski and Thurlow's (2010) tour guide-tourist encounters is another example of this) or emerge as a result of enskilled historical bodies (Blommaert, 2013, p. 32), or there may be a range of external factors at other levels of context at play which can constrain the degree of 'new' that can emerge. This can also be seen to be the case in some institutional settings, such as the judicial system, which are less open to changes in communicative practices. Subsequently, the nature and potential for emergence should be taken as an empirical question.

Emergence in transient social configurations can also be constrained by various other factors which need to be empirically investigated. Questions such as *who* can influence *what* kind of emergent practices, and what is the role played by unequal distribution of resources, such as professional knowledge or languages, remain unaddressed in the literature thus far. Existing studies tend to investigate relatively informal settings, or issues related to power are otherwise simply backgrounded. Nevertheless, the effect of unequal distribution of resources (and the power dynamics that can ensure from this) can be seen to implicitly operate in Goebel's (2010) case of socializing newcomers to the neighborhood, in Kappa's (2018) description of transnationally mobile volunteers interacting with asylum seekers who want to improve their English and thereby better navigate the asylum system, and in Lønsmann's (2017) account of how a new English-speaking employee in a Danish corporation functions as a catalyst of change in the language choices of one team, driven by the high valorization of English as an international language. Taking the above into consideration, Mortensen's theorizing around TMCs can therefore be read to emphasize the agency of individuals vis-à-vis social structures, such as a specific institutional order or other structural inequalities that provide some participants with greater resources than others. A keen focus on empirical detail is key here in order to shed light on the complex ties between situated practices, participants' 'historical bodies' (Scollon & Scollon, 2004), and pre-existing social structures in the context of transient social configurations.

To briefly sum up, the present study contributes to the notion of TMC by investigating the emergence of social phenomena from a longitudinal perspective and by exploring the extent to which emergence can be constrained and enabled by various factors that transcend the local context.

In the following section, I launch the broader contextualization of this study in terms of the historical origins of international development. This historical understanding is relevant to understand the roots of the partnership debate discussed in Section 2.3 to follow.

2.2. A very brief history of international development

In this section, I provide a brief overview of the history and aims of international development, which help explain the broader purpose of the studied project visit and the origins of the ideologies that can be seen circulating within it (specifically partnership (Section 2.3) and managerialism (Section 9.3)).

To define the nature and meaning of development is somewhat difficult as it has taken on different meanings over time and been realized through a variety of approaches, theories, areas of interest, and so forth (Hopper, 2018). However, development has typically been regarded as a Western concept which proposes that some parts of the world are less advanced than others, typically countries referred to as Third World or Global South, and thus are in need of 'development'. However, the idea of development as the hope to improve the living conditions of all mankind has also been a widely circulating definition of development (Rist & Camiller, 2014).

Regardless of its exact definition, development can be understood as a discursive concept which has its roots in four changes in Western social and economic thinking. These can be very briefly summarized as follows (based on historical overviews by Gardner & Lewis (2015), Hopper (2018), and Rist and Camiller (2014)). First, the European enlightenment era brought about the rise of technology and belief in rational knowledge, which began to be favored over any superstitious beliefs. This made possible modernization theories which emerged in the late capitalist period and focused on industrialization and creating economic growth. These, in turn, paved the way for social theories underpinned by the idea that there are societies which are modern and those which are primitive. And last, but not least, closely aligned with the above is the history of colonialism which not only entailed various European countries colonizing foreign lands for economic gain but also attempting to introduce "European-style education, Christianity and new political and bureaucratic systems" (Gardner & Lewis, 2015, p. 5) to the colonized lands. These historical processes are often regarded as the main contributors to the discursive division of the world into "developed" and "underdeveloped" countries, later reinforced by economic measurements of poverty as evidence of underdevelopment.

It is widely believed that development was institutionalized when President Truman of the United States launched an economic aid program in 1949. President Truman envisioned development as a way of reducing global inequality through economic aid, which legitimized international development interventions in 'underdeveloped' parts of the world for years to come. However, these attempts were seen as unsuccessful in bringing about the desired change.

This exclusive focus on economic measures of the early development approaches was later criticized for overlooking historical influences (e.g. colonial past), the nature

of local politics, and other societal issues as to why some countries are relatively speaking less wealthy than others (Hout, 2016; Abrahamsen, 2004; Fowler, 2000; Lewis, 1998). These critiques also addressed the view of development as linear and of 'underdeveloped' countries being seen as passive, despite evidence to the contrary. The rise of postmodernist thinking and major changes in world politics in 1990s further undermined the categories and notions based on which development had been operating up until that point. As a result, generalizations about local populations began to be undermined by a growing focus on plurality of local experiences, knowledges, and diversity in scientific thought (Gardner & Lewis (2015) and Manij and O'Coill (2002) provide overviews of these critiques). As a result, a number of new and diverse approaches to development, ones which focused more on social and political change than economic growth, emerged. Some development organizations, whether donor agencies or NGOs, continued to follow models of macro-level policies, while others started to focus on human-centric approaches such as partnership, empowerment, and supporting local grassroots movements (Gardner & Lewis, 2015; Lewis, 1998; Marais & Luchner, 2018).

In the 21st century, the industry is often described as even more diverse due to recent changes in the global order. Organizations involved in development are highly diverse in terms of structure, size, (sources of) funding, vision of change, ideologies, mandates, relations with other organizations, and geographical locations (Lewis, 1998; Porter & Wallace 2013; Hopper, 2018). It is because of this diversity and their various approaches to development that it is impossible to provide a short and concise overview of development as a set of institutional practices. As a result of this, the perspective of development that I provide in this study is informed by an ethnographic investigation of the organizations involved in this study and the ideologies made relevant by the data.

In this case, there are two prominent ideologies which frame and shape this project visit in different ways, but which are also highly prevalent in international development more broadly. In the next section, I discuss one of these, namely, the partnership ideology which both legitimizes the need for a project visit, as well as provides an ideological undercurrent for why certain activities may be carried out in particular ways (as discussed in my analysis in Chapter 10).

2.3. Partnership in development work

The notion of partnership plays a significant role in this study on several fronts. First, partnerships between organizations in the Global North (such as Nordic Solidarity) and Global South (such as Swazi Democracy) is a donor requirement for funding development projects, which directly conditions that Nordic Solidarity and Swazi

Democracy would be partners in order to be eligible for funding. Second, the ideology behind the notion of partnership is a central part of how Nordic Solidarity presents its approach to development and planning development projects, as explained by the Nordic Solidarity volunteers in their interviews and evidenced in the existence of an institutional guideline under the same heading[8]. Although the document is unclear about what partnership means in practice, it does emphasize the task of "listening" to local partners, which is an idea that has currency within development more broadly (Tesseur, 2019; Crack, 2019), and which seems to have been internalized by the Nordic volunteers (see analysis in Chapter 10). The purpose of the present section is to explicate the ideological roots of the notion of partnership. In doing so, the debate that has surrounded partnership in *practice* also becomes relevant. Although it is not my intention to directly engage with this debate, discussing the state of the art underscores my observation of development studies as a whole, in that the debate is not grounded in detailed analyses of communicative practices in development encounters.

On a rudimentary level, a partnership can be established between Northern and Southern NGOs[9], between Southern and Southern NGOs, between companies and NGOs, between donors and governments, and so forth[10]. It also covers a wide range of relationship structures (Baaz, 2005; Fowler, 1991, 1998; Abrahamsen, 2004). But the term does not just refer to two or more organizations partnering up. In international development, it also entails an institutional ideology which can inform ways of conducting development – for instance in the case of designing and implementing development projects, as it also takes place in the project visit investigated in this study.

As mentioned in the brief history on development work, the idea of a partnership emerged among many other approaches in response to earlier top-down development interventions. Due to the latter's exclusive focus on economic growth, as defined by actors external to local countries, they were critiqued for not taking into consideration local needs and conditions, nor involving local people to participate in decision-making (Elbers, 2012; Fowler, 2000a; Abrahamsen, 2004; Ahmad, 2006; Schöneberg, 2017; Harrison, 2002). Partnership, as an alternative approach, and an idealized way of organizing development, was put forward as a more participatory approach to reaching development outputs. Under partnership, development

[8] Listed as Document 2 in Appendix B. Due to anonymity concerns, the document cannot be made available. However, I paraphrase the content of this document as it is made relevant by the data in Chapter 10.

[9] The categories 'Northern' and 'Southern' follow the logic of 'Global North' and 'Global South', and reflect the terminology used by the participants as well as development literature.

[10] In this literature review, I delimit my focus to partnerships that entail Northern and Southern NGOs, which correlates with the "type" of partnership in this study.

projects would be defined together with partners in the Global South according to their needs and concerns, thereby increasingly minimizing the influence of Northern NGOs (Wallace et al., 2006; Abrahamsen, 2004) [11].

Since the emergence of the partnership ideology, there is a proliferation of studies around the nature and application of partnership. On the basis of these studies, it has been widely agreed that partnership escapes a clear definition in theory and in practice (Elbers, 2012; Lewis, 1998; Fowler, 1998, 2000; Abrahamsen, 2004; Lister, 2000; Ahmad, 2006). Nevertheless, in idealized terms, partnership should entail "shared goals, mutual roles and responsibilities, shared governance, a long-term commitment for working together, an equitable distribution of costs and benefits, a shared responsibility for agreed outcomes, open dialogue and mutual accountability" (Elbers, 2012, p. 19). Additionally, most definitions put a special emphasis on what partnerships should make possible for its Southern NGOs: "respecting the autonomy of local partners, giving them right to set the final agenda for their own work and providing capacity building and flexible funding to foster their autonomy and capacity" (Elbers, 2012, p. 19). The target of development from a partnership perspective is therefore to develop the capacity[12] of local partners to autonomously lead their lives in various societal areas. As a result, many Northern NGOs channel their efforts towards solidarity activities, making space for Southern NGOs' autonomy, and developing the organizational capacity of Southern NGOs and local communities.

There are a number of studies which critique various partnerships for not living up to these ideals. Elbers calls this the "partnership paradox" (Elbers, 2012, p. 24) on the basis of his comprehensive literature review. Some of the most often reported problems associated with partnership have been argued to concern asymmetrical financial relations whereby Northern NGOs are seen to have greater leverage (Hudock, 1995; Lister, 2000; Fowler, 2000a; Ahmad, 2006), and how managerialism undermines the ideals of partnership with its demand for accountability to donors and how their money is being spent (see elaboration in Section 9.3). My stance on the divergence between policy (or ideology) and practice is that this is in no way unique to development, as similar divergences have been reported in a wide variety of institutional settings e.g. language policy vs practices (Angouri, 2013; Angouri & Miglbauer, 2014; Goossens, 2019; Jaspers & Rosiers, 2019; Day & Kristiansen,

[11] This view has been critiqued for being optimistic (Gardner & Lewis, 2015, p. 96), as the idealized notion of partnership has been reported to be carried out in very diverse ways (Ahmad, 2006) and often at odds with the increasing upward accountability and demands for documentation within development (Wallace et al., 2007; see also Section 9.3).

[12] Capacity building can entail technical assistance, support with everyday organizational needs, management training, strategic planning consultancy, organizational development etc. (Lewis, 1998, pp. 504-505).

2018). Rather, as Elbers himself points out (2012, pp. 25-26), there is a need for *systematic* analyses of the *practices* of partnership, as well as elucidating how these can be a reflection of as well as be shaped by broader institutional frameworks. For instance, Elbers calls for understanding how donor funding requirements, eligibility criteria, demands for documentation etc. impact the dynamics of partnerships between Northern and Southern NGOs.

With this as the backdrop, Elbers proceeds to answer this gap in literature through a comparative study of four partnerships between Northern and Southern NGOs. However, Elbers' study only takes participant accounts, surveys, and policy analyses as evidence of practice, which seems to be a widespread trend also in the larger body of research on partnership (e.g. Baaz, 2005; Bornstein, 2003; Olawoore & Kamruzzaman, 2019; Schöneberg, 2017; Harris, 2008; Lister, 2001; Elbers & Schulpen, 2011, 2013; Elbers & Arts, 2011; Andersen & Jensen, 2017). Some more ethnographically oriented studies do also incorporate participant observations of actual encounters around development project design (e.g. Kruckenberg, 2015; Mosse, 2005), but little is known about the presumably quite complex communicative practices where participants can be seen navigating and being shaped by various stakeholders, development policies, and ideologies, as well as relationship structures. The present study is one contribution in the direction suggested by Elbers, although it is not my aim to enter into a discussion on whether the partnership in this study lives up to the ideals of partnership. Rather, I acknowledge the emic relevance of partnership to the studied social setting and explore how it is realized by the participants themselves.

In this chapter, I provided a literature review of the existing body of literature on transient social configurations which this study primarily contributes to. In addition to this, I contextualized this study from a historical and ideological perspective, which also served the purpose of underscoring the need for a more linguistically oriented study of development encounters, such as the present one. In the following chapter, I discuss my methodology, data collection, and analytical process.

3

3. Methodology, data collection, and analytical process

To explore the data from different angles, I employ multiple methods from closely related discourse analytical disciplines, brought together under the heading of linguistic ethnography. The use of some of these methods in the same thesis may be seen as problematic due to their different ontological and epistemological positions. This necessitates an overall ontological position that is not methodologically prescriptive, allowing for a multi-method approach, together with a methodology with an interdisciplinary epistemological approach. A combination of sociological realism together with linguistic ethnography provides such a space. In doing so, I do not seek to resolve long-standing ontological and epistemological debates about the nature of social life e.g. as stratified or socially constructed (Sealey, 2007; Blommaert, 2007; Hammersley, 2007) as this would be impossible within the scope of this thesis.

This chapter sets out by outlining sociological realism as the ontological position adopted in this study (Section 3.1), after which I define and explain my choice for linguistic ethnography as the chosen methodology for this study (Section 3.2). Following from this, in Section 3.2.1. I introduce the analytical approaches employed in Part I and Part II of this thesis. The chapter is concluded with an account of my data collection and analysis process, as well as choices made in presenting my analyses (Section 3.3).

3.1. Sociological realism

A sociological realist position proposes that there are different social domains (Layder, 1997, 1998) to social life: situated activities, individuals' psychobiographies, social settings, and contextual resources. Layder argues that these social domains, while analytically stratifiable, are interlocked and dependent on each other. Furthermore, they can be imagined as layered and spread across time and space (cf. Lemke, 2000; Carr & Lempert, 2016). The domain of situated activities concerns face-to-face encounters, while psychobiography relates to a person's history, predispositions, feelings, experiences etc. The domain of social setting encompasses informal and formal social settings which, while realized through

situated activities and participants with particular psychobiographies, can be underpinned by (highly) organized procedures, practices, and social positions which have transformed into or been institutionalized as (appropriate) patterns of behavior. Hovering over all of these domains is the wider context of hierarchical relations and unequally distributed resources on a society-wide basis, which can impinge on and enter into other social domains, but without *determining* the other social domains. Layder argues that each of these social domains is to a degree independent of the others, on the basis of which changes in society are made possible. Following from this, the domains can be seen to have different independent characteristics and degrees of power to influence other social domains.

What implications does the above have on understanding the relation between 'structure' and 'agency'? From a realist perspective, broader social structures:

> pre-exist the people whose activities are constrained or enabled by the organizations, institutions and cultural products which provide the contexts for their actions; they also […] endure and develop on a timescale different from that of the individual lifespan. Moreover, while they are undeniably products of human actions and intentions, social structures cannot be easily modified, nor are they readily apparent, at the level of everyday experience (Sealey, 2007, pp. 654-655).

If we accept this position, then we also accept that the social world is not talked into existence "afresh in each conversation" (Carter & Sealey, 2000, p. 14). The malleability of social structures is rather seen as contingent on social actors' position in the cultural, historical, economic, and political conditions into which they are born and operate within. In this sense, social inequalities are not seen as the discursive product of social actors' intentions or actions in situated encounters (Hammersley, 2007, p. 692). Rather, human agency is constrained and enabled in contingent ways by their surrounding social, political, economic, and historical conditions, much of which may be beyond the participants' conscious awareness, or even control, in the here and now (Layder, 1997,1998; Carter & Sealey, 2000; Sealey, 2007). In short, sociological realism calls for viewing social structures, situated activities, and human agency as ontologically different and therefore analytically stratifiable. The task from a realist perspective is to explore and understand the relations between them to get at the complexity of social life (Hammersley, 2007; Sealey, 2007).

At the same time, sociological realism does not propose a view of the social world as static and where no change takes place. Instead, social life is seen as emergent:

> structured social relations are emergent entities (that is, they are the products of earlier engagements between people and the world they encounter). They are irreducible to people, while people are not the puppets of structures because they have their own emergent properties (Sealey & Carter, 2001, pp. 14-15, following Archer, 1995).

The emphasis on the emergence of social structures and their relations with situated encounters and individuals, even as they all exist on different timescales and with different powers to influence emergence (Levinson, 2005, p. 451; Lemke, 2009, p. 274), is important as it embraces the complex and contradictory nature of social life. Furthermore, it speaks to the analytical lens of transient social configurations which challenges a static and fixed view of how groups of people socially organize their joint activities.

To explore social domains and their interplay, sociological realism is not methodologically prescriptive. Instead, it encourages taking data as the starting point to determine which social domains are salient on the basis of the research question(s), how these domains impinge on other domains, how the social actors can be seen to navigate various domains, and what kind of social phenomena emerge as a result of all of the above (Carter & Sealey, 2000, p. 16). This point of departure is compatible both with a data-driven interest in the emergence of social phenomena in transient social configurations, as well as with the linguistic ethnographic principle of exploring situated social contexts without *a priori* defined theoretical and methodological frameworks. My take on linguistic ethnography and what it offers as a methodological framework in this study is discussed in the following section.

3.2. Linguistic ethnography

In this section, I describe my understanding of linguistic ethnography (henceforth referred to as LE) and how I apply it as a methodology. Following from this, I outline the specific methods I adopt to explore the two analytical themes in his thesis.

LE provides an overarching "umbrella term" (Rampton, 2007, p. 3) for studies interested in language use and meaning-making in situated social contexts, drawing both from ethnographic and linguistic methods (Copland & Creese, 2015; Rampton, 2007; Rampton et al., 2004; Rampton, Maybin, & Roberts, 2015; Snell et al., 2015). LE has been proposed as neither a discipline nor a method for collecting data, but "a site of encounter" (Rampton, 2007, p. 585) where a variety of data types, methods, interpretive approaches, and concepts can be brought together to explore research interests in a specific social setting (Shaw, Copland, & Snell, 2015, p. 10).

While LE is underpinned by a view of language and social life as mutually shaping (Rampton et al., 2004, p. 2), this view evokes both a social constructionist and realist position, as well as the long-standing tension between the two, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter (Tusting & Maybin, 2007, Hammersley, 2007). The "implicit realism" (Tusting & Maybin, 2007, p. 581) in LE is evident in its interest in the interplay between situated encounters, participants' perspectives, and how the local links up with wider social contexts and structures (Copland et al., 2015, p. 13;

Rampton, 2007; Rampton et al., 2015). Formulating the broad research agenda of LE studies in this way aligns with the sociological realist view of an analytically stratifiable social world and the interest in understanding the interplay between different social domains. In other words, in this study, I lean into the 'implicit realism' of LE in order to investigate the present transient social configuration from the perspective of different social domains (Part I), or even across social domains (Part II).

From this perspective, what makes LE particularly well-suited for the present research interests is in the way that LE does not enforce particular methods, analytical approaches, or theoretical frameworks, nor prescribe the degree to which an analytical focus on the social context or situated activities is emphasized over the other (Rampton, 2007). Instead, and similarly to the openness in the sociological realist position, LE provides a space for combining methods, analytical approaches, and concepts to explore different social phenomena to the degree that proves relevant and meets research interests or questions. This sort of openness is particularly relevant in an attempt to trace processes of emergence, transformation, and dissolution which can be observed in a transient social configuration and which may call for a variety of analytical approaches to investigate these further.

In addition to the above, LE is also useful for the purposes of the present study in the way that it emphasizes a data-driven analytical approach. More specifically, LE calls for detailed analyses of language use, and other semiotic practices, which are seen to provide insight into the workings of social life. In addition to this, the social context of language-in-use is ethnographically investigated in the way that it is (re)produced and made sense of by social actors, rather than assumed and imposed *a priori* (Rampton, 2007). Thereby "ethnography opens linguistics up" (Rampton, 2007, p. 596) through embedding detailed analyses of language use in an ethnographic epistemology of rich descriptions of social context and researcher reflexivity; while "linguistics ties ethnography down" (Rampton, 2007, p. 596) through producing ethnographic descriptions which are grounded in the linguistic detail of communicative and other semiotic practices. In such a way, generalizations about social contexts are made accountable to everyday situated activities which can be observed, recorded, and analyzed through "the aesthetic of 'slowness' and 'smallness'" (Rampton et al., 2015, p. 36, quoting Silverman, 1998).

Finally, LE involves a case study design as it is topic-oriented and focused on obtaining an in-depth understanding of one specific social context from a particular research angle. An ethnographic case study approach has been critiqued for being limited in its ability to provide generalizable conclusions. As Blommaert & Jie (2010, p. 17-18) discuss, while an ethnographically grounded study is indeed not replicable, as it is entirely interpretive, situated, and therefore subjective, the particularities of the case study can nevertheless be drawn upon and theorized around when compared

to other similar social settings (see also Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 174; Erickson, 1990).

In the following subsections, I explicate the methods which I adopt under the umbrella term of linguistic ethnography.

3.2.1. Different methods for different analytical agendas

The choice and combination of methods in LE studies is typically driven by research questions and study goals, as is also the case in this thesis. This study seeks to explore the emergence of social phenomena over time in one transient social configuration. However, my interest in the social phenomena that I have identified as salient during the analytical process (see Section 3.3.4. Dataset, analytical process for my account of the analytical process) is different in the degree that I investigate these. Put differently, while one approach would be to draw out the complex interplay between social domains related to one social phenomena, in this study I am interested in exploring some social phenomena exclusively from the perspective of specific social domains (Part I), and some with respect to the interplay between different social domains (Part II). This has implications for my choice of analytical approaches and concepts, which I explain over the following pages.

In Part I of this thesis, I first take an interest in the sequential machinery of how knowledge asymmetries are handled over time in this transient social configuration, which calls for a more strictly linguistically-oriented analytical approach to best explore this phenomenon, such as the study of institutional talk and epistemics in Conversation Analysis (see Section 3.2.1.1 to follow). Second, I investigate the thematic topicalization of knowledge asymmetries from the participants' perspective without seeking to subsume the observations from this data type into the observations made in the interactional data (as explained in Section 3.2.1.2). Put differently, in Part I, I investigate two social domains to the exclusion of other layers of context. In Part II, I am precisely interested in the way that situated textual practices and participants' perspectives altogether link up with various other layers of context, following the more 'typical' research aim of many LE studies. This calls for employing ethnographic methods together with close linguistic analyses of interactions, and analytical concepts which work to draw out the complexity and interplay between the local and wider social contexts (as explained in Section 3.2.1.3).

For clarification, my conceptualization of context is not the "bucket theory of context" (Drew & Heritage, 1992) common to structural theories in social sciences, whereby 'a context' *determines* the actions available for social actors. Rather, I view context as:

dynamic, interactively accomplished, and intrinsic to communication. Language

> is pervasively indexical, continuously pointing to persons, practices, settings, objects and ideas that never get explicitly expressed. As people try to make sense of each other, contexts are constantly invoked, ratified and shifted by semiotic signs" (Rampton et al., 2015, p. 26)

In other words, I view contexts as both internal and external to talk, existing independently of talk as analytically stratifiable social domains, while also being activated, negotiated, and ratified by participants in situated encounters. In this sense, by homing in on certain social domains to the exclusion of other layers of context, such as I attempt to do in Part I, or exploring social phenomena *across* scales of context, as I do in Part II, should therefore be taken as an analytical exercise rather than a commentary on the nature of context.

To summarize, I have developed my own approach to understanding this transient social configuration, driven by salient observations, and matched with methods, analytical approaches, and concepts which suit my research interests and questions. LE, with its openness to interdisciplinarity and topic-oriented study provides a space for such eclectic interests.

In the following, I elaborate on the specific methods adopted in Part I and Part II.

3.2.1.1. Part I: Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analytic (henceforth referred to as CA) studies entail one of the most detailed bodies of research and set of analytical concepts on epistemic phenomena. For this reason, CA is best suited for understanding how knowledge asymmetries are managed over time through talk-in-interaction. The particular concepts which are applied to the interactional data are explained in Chapter 5 in Part I. However, in order for the premise of these concepts to make sense, the foundational principles of Conversation Analysis as an analytical approach need to be clarified.

First, however, I should address how CA (Sacks 1992, Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; ten Have, 2007) is anchored in social constructionism, which may at first glance seem at odds with my ontological position of sociological realism. However, the realist position acknowledges that social life is partially constituted through language use in situated encounters (Carter & Sealey, 2000, p. 14). Thus, in adopting CA to explore how knowledge asymmetries are managed turn-by-turn, I partly subscribe to the "flat view of social systems" (Lemke, 2000, p. 274), meaning that some social phenomena are a matter of *in situ* social construction in the here-and-now but that situated activities are "not the only domain which constitutes the social world" (Carter & Sealey, 2000, p. 14). In other words, my position is that CA is best suited for describing in great empirical detail how social life can be produced and reflected through the machinery of everyday

talk-in-interaction (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013, p. 2), but it is considerably less suited for understanding or describing the patterns of social life at other scales (Lemke, 2000, p. 274) or social domains (Layder, 1997, 1998).

CA emerged in the 1960s and debunked the claim that social interaction is disorderly and thus indescribable (Sacks, 1984). In fact, CA sees social interaction as 'the primordial site of human sociality' (Schegloff, 1992; Goodwin & Heritage, 1990; Enfield & Levinson, 2006), which reveals its roots in ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1984) and in social constructionism. Following from this, CA studies aim to characterize the systematicity of social interaction, relying on fine-grained transcriptions of naturally occurring interactions and describing social interaction from the perspective of turn-taking, sequence organization, preference, and repair (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff et al., 1977, Sacks et al., 1974, see Sidnell & Stivers, 2013 for overview). In the following, I explicate some of the basic principles of a CA analysis.

Maintaining a members' perspective is central to any CA analysis, and entails privileging participants' displayed sense-making through the 'next turn proof procedure' (Sacks et al., 1974). This is the principle that participants in an interaction display their understanding of prior turns in the way that they formulate their next turn. By adhering to this principle, analysts are forced to stay as close to the unfolding interaction as possible by prioritizing speakers' local sense-making without imposing analyst's own interpretation of the data. As a result, CA precludes *a priori* categorization of participants and their activities without empirical warrant in the data (see critique of this point in Billig (1999)). Furthermore, the emic perspective also calls for engaging with recordings of naturally occurring interactions through what has been called the 'unmotivated looking' procedure (Psathas, 1995, p. 45). This procedure privileges the phenomena that emerge from repeated observations of the data without prior ideas or hypotheses about what one is likely to find.

CA's social constructionist roots are most evident in its view on talk-in-interaction as 'context-shaped' and 'context-renewing' (Sacks, 1987, 1992; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Utterances are seen to be shaped by (immediately) preceding talk, while also creating or projecting a relevant next action. In this sense, it is the interactants who are believed to talk the context of talk and speakers' social identities into being. Extrasituational factors (e.g. social structures, social parameters, power relations) are only seen as relevant to the extent that they are evoked as consequential for the interactants' ongoing interaction (Schegloff, 1999; Goodwin & Heritage, 1990). In short, speakers are seen as active agents in creating, maintaining, and altering their social context and subject positions in situated encounters (Heritage & Clayman, 2010, p. 22). This is clearly at odds with an overall realist position, but as I explained previously, for the purpose of uncovering the interactional machinery of how

participants address knowledge asymmetries, such a 'flat view' of social life is sufficient.

However, my analyses of the interactional data reveal that the way in which knowledge asymmetries are addressed can be seen to be specific to a particular institutional order. This makes CA studies of institutional talk equally as relevant for the analytical purposes of Part I. CA studies of institutional talk are different from 'pure' CA with its exclusive focus on the sequential properties of interactions. Instead, CA studies of institutional talk investigate how institutions are reflexively shaped by and constructed through its interactional bedrock (Heritage, 1997, p. 163).

A focus on institutional talk emerged in the late 1970s when scholars began to apply CA principles to understand how institutional orders are evoked and made actionable through talk-in-interaction (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage, 1997; Heritage & Clayman, 2010; ten Have, 2007). As part of this new avenue of investigation, it is argued that "communicative conduct in more specialized social institutions embodies task- or role- oriented specializations that generally involve a narrowing of the range of conduct that is generically found in ordinary conversation" (Heritage & Clayman, 2010, p. 12). This "narrowing" manifests in the structural properties of talk through speakers' observably asymmetrical rights and obligations to turn-taking, initiating action, and distinct characteristics to turn design and lexis (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage, 1997). Furthermore, institutional interactions are seen to display goal-orientation which ties speakers to "institution-relevant identities" (Heritage & Clayman, 2010, p. 34), such as teachers or students. Depending on the roles which speakers take on or ascribe to others, the speakers can be seen being constrained or enabled to initiate action to different degrees, which is said to reflect the logic of the specific institutional context and which CA studies of institutional talk seek to uncover. For instance, analyses of classroom interaction have shown how speakers embodying the teacher role distribute turns and hold speakers treated as students accountable to respond to questions, and so forth. It is through accountably enacting these institutional roles and role-specific practices that institutions are said to be "talked into being" (Heritage, 1984, p. 290) and made observable for detailed analytical inquiry.

My analytical approach to employing CA is addressed in Section 5.1. In the following section, I discuss my analytical approach to analyzing interview data.

3.2.1.2. Part I and Part II: Meaning condensation of interview data

To analyze interview data, I adopt a type of 'meaning condensation' (Kvale, 2007, p. 106-107) in order to explore how participants perceive of their role with respect to the knowledge asymmetries which they topicalize in their accounts (Part I, Chapter 7)

and with respect to the process of writing donor applications (Part II, Chapter 10).

This analytical approach entails immersion in the interview data through repeated listening, viewings of recordings, and readings of transcripts. The interview data is then coded into segments where a particular theme is evoked. These segments are condensed into short statements on the meaning expressed in the segment, as understood by the researcher (Kvale, 2007, p. 107). Subsequently, the segments are organized thematically into collections, and subjected to further interpretation of meanings produced and/or analyzed for the joint construction of meaning between interviewer and interviewee (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997; Schegloff, 1997).

In conceptualizing interviews and what they reveal about social life, I follow Gubrium and Holsten's (1997, p. 127) notion of 'active interviews' who state that meaning is mutually constructed in interviews turn-by-turn by both interviewer and interviewee. This is, once again, a social constructionist position which, I argue, is not incompatible with a realist position since my analysis of interview data focuses exclusively on the social domain of how participants make sense of the social world around them in interaction with an interviewer. In doing so, I maintain that "the limits of the social world are not determined by what the participants perceive them to be" (Carter & Sealey, 2000, p. 9, 13).

These points are particularly relevant in my analyses of the feedback session held with the Nordic volunteers where the participants offered their interpretation of clips of recordings taken from the project visit (see Appendix J for transcripts of the clips). I treat this session as a sense-making process between the session facilitator (myself) and the participants, and where justifications and interpretations of behavior provided by the participants are not accorded the privileged status of explanations to what takes place in the shown clips. This is because participants may not always be consciously aware of what they may be driven by in specific moments in time, especially when these moments are more noteworthy to the researcher than the participant him/herself (ten Have, 2007, p. 31).

Last, but not least, I discuss my approach to the analysis presented in Part II.

3.2.1.3. Part II: Linguistic ethnography

LE provides both an overall methodological framing for this study as well as for the second analytical agenda in this thesis. In Part II of this thesis, I seek to examine how emergent practices around writing a development project tie in with the broader institutional framework, as well as with participants' perceptions and operationalization of the institutional order. To this end, I draw inspiration from Snell and Lefstein's (2015) approach to LE and employ a variety of analytical tools: (a) Conversation Analysis for the analysis of sequences and turn-by-turn construction of

social interactions (Section 3.2.1.1.); (b) multimodal analysis of non-verbal semiotic resources, such as embodied behavior and material objects, which are brought into interaction to construct meaning (Iedema, 2003). To move beyond situated encounters and their interplay with other social domains, I employ (c) a form of transcontextual analysis, incorporating notions such as texts and entextualization (among others described in Section 9.2.) in order to focus on how emergent practices around text production link up with a broader institutional framework; (d) an analysis of collected ethnographic data to 'open linguistics up', and (e) 'meaning condensation' of interview data to capture participants' perceptions of how roles around writing donor applications should be distributed. My analytical process specific to Part II is covered in Section 9.1.

Having now covered the ontological, epistemological, and methodological framework of this study, the next section is dedicated to describing how I planned and carried out field work and preliminary analyses of collected data.

3.3. Field work and data collection

In this section I account for the process of planning for field work and carrying out data collection.

3.3.1. Planning the field work

This section covers the development of preliminary research questions, the process of contacting potential organizations, and gaining access to the research site.

3.3.1.1. Collaborative research design and manifesto

This study is part of a collaborative research project (*Transient Multilingual Communities and the Formation of Social and Linguistic Norms*, henceforth referred to as 'the TMC project') where the collaboration extends to the level of research design and preliminary research questions (see Section 1.2). The research design for the TMC project was not created with pre-existing case study agreements in place, although it had been agreed which professional sectors each of the participating five researchers would focus on. Regardless, a common research design and principles for data collection were agreed upon collaboratively so as to assure comparativeness across five different case studies. This research guideline (see Appendix F) would across all case studies involve the collection of:

1. Audio- and video-recordings of daily interactions

Recordings of interactions were considered the main source of data, based on the

assumption that it is in the face-to-face interactions that negotiations and formations of social and linguistic norms can primarily be traced. Recordings were to be collected from different stages of the studied research site (ideally before, during, and after the formation of a TMC), and could be focused on recurring events, or activities which the participants themselves orient to as bounded events.

2. Interviews with key participants
Primary participants were to be interviewed going into, during, and after the TMC. Interviews could focus on the participants' backgrounds, expectations, and reflections on being a participant in the studied setting. Primary participants would be chosen by each researcher depending on the case. It was agreed that no *a priori* defined criteria for selecting them would be defined. Interviews were meant to inform what kind of resources the participants may bring into the setting, which in turn could influence the phenomena that emerge in the transient social configuration.

3. Participant observations
Observations of activities would be documented in field notes, which would as a minimum take the form of recording logs (see example in Appendix I) be guided by the overall research questions (as outlined in Section 1.2 previously).

4. Documents
Any documents relevant to the participants' activities would be copied or taken pictures of to the extent that it proved possible.

Acquiring data from the above-mentioned data sources was agreed to be the ideal goal of what could be useful to collect as data during field work. How the data collection panned out in this case, and how it was adapted to meet the situated needs and ethical considerations of the research site (Kubanyiova, 2008) is elaborated on in the following pages. First, however, I cover the process of finding a case study and negotiating access.

3.3.1.2. Finding a case study
For this PhD position, a case had already been negotiated as part of the TMC project. However, due to funding cuts which resulted in the case organization opting out, I was faced with the task of looking for a new organization upon commencing my PhD studies in September 2016.

I began contacting different organizations which fell under the NGO or non-profit sector by "cold emailing" them (see example email in Appendix E). Selecting this

sector was motivated both by my own interests in working with a case study from a non-corporate environment, as well as covering a further professional sector for the goals of the TMC project. My main selection criterion for a relevant NGO or non-profit was strongly influenced by the theorizing around transient multilingual communities. I was on the lookout for an international organization with employees or volunteers who originated from different sociocultural backgrounds, and used English as a lingua franca in their daily work. Identifying such organizations was not the difficult part given the prevalence of internationalization in the non-profit sector. Rather, what proved to be almost a case of 'looking for a needle in a haystack' was locating a collaboration which would have a short life-span (anywhere from a couple of weeks to a couple of months) and which would preferably take place during the spring or summer of 2017. In my approach, I framed my research project as one that would investigate a short-term international project where the participants may have different ideas about how to work together due to their different sociocultural backgrounds. This description proved fruitful as it seemed to speak to the needs of these organizations who were quickly able to see the benefit for them in being involved in the research.

While many organizations did not reply to my emails, several of them did and expressed initial interest in participating. I would then arrange to meet with the head of the organization from whom I would learn more about the structure of the organization and upcoming projects. When mutual interest was further solidified in a face-to-face meeting, and the possibility for finding a suitable (i.e. transient) project was also confirmed, the next step involved contacting another gatekeeper who would either eventually be part of the potential case study or who would know more about suitable projects.

At this stage, I would also explain the nature of the kind of data collection I was looking to conduct - what kind of data I was hoping to gather, how I would work around the daily schedules of the people involved, and how I would address any potential concerns about recording daily work activities. For a number of organizational gatekeepers, the idea of their colleagues or themselves being recorded during their work hours was not appealing and was named as the main reason for why some organizations opted out quite early on. The search for a potential case study took five months and it was not until late January 2017 that a positive response came through from one of the interested organizations. In the following, I describe the process of contacting and gaining access to Nordic Solidarity specifically (an ethnographic description of the organization is provided in Section 4.2.2).

3.3.1.3. Negotiating access to Nordic Solidarity

Nordic Solidarity appeared on my radar in September 2016 as part of a call for new volunteers in a Facebook group that I am part of. After contacting the original poster, it took more than a month before my first meeting with the head of the organization (henceforth referred to as 'Gatekeeper'). Cultivating patience and regularly emailing gentle reminders became a recurring experience for me with all of the members of Nordic Solidarity. Mostly because key contacts reported to be juggling with the sheer volume of work, in addition to their other priorities not related to Nordic Solidarity.

The first meeting took place in late October 2016, where the Gatekeeper found my more detailed explanation of the research idea highly useful. This resulted in the agreement that a project visit could be a suitable research site. We concluded the meeting with the agreement that the Gatekeeper would revert when a project visit would be coming up to a country where the collaboration with the local partners was not sensitive i.e. there would be no negotiations of conflicts on the agenda. In the latter case, the Gatekeeper explained, the presence of a researcher would only complicate the already sensitive situation where the termination of a partnership would be discussed.

Due to the continued heavy workload of the Gatekeeper, after two months I agreed with the Gatekeeper to take over identifying a suitable project visit to participate in. I received contacts to two working groups – one working on climate issues in Zimbabwe and another working with the grassroots democratic movement in Swaziland. I received prompt email responses from both groups as well as dates for meeting in person. The first working group, with whom I met in December 2016, displayed a fair amount of skepticism about being recorded during their project visit to Zimbabwe, and turned down the offer of participating in the research. The other working group (henceforth referred to as the Swaziland Group; see also Section 4.2.2. Nordic Solidarity) with whom I met in mid-January 2017, had two project visits to two different organizations in Swaziland coming up. One of them was a project visit to determine whether the partnership should be terminated, hence it was immediately ruled out as a good fit. However, the project visit which was planned to be about monitoring and developing a new project with Swazi Democracy was deemed a more suitable visit to participate in. Valentina (anonymized name), the volunteer who led this initial meeting, indicated that my research could potentially help them learn how to better communicate with their partners. At the end of the meeting, she promised to get back to me after having secured permission from the Swazi partners. The preference for taking on the middle man role in explaining the purpose of my research to their Swazi partner organization, Swazi Democracy, was the group members' preference, although no particular reason was given for this.

However, the transient nature of Nordic Solidarity as an organization soon became obvious to me when two weeks had passed with no word from Valentina. Upon re-establishing contact with her, she reported having left the organization for an internship in another European country. Instead, she re-directed me to establish contact with Ditte, who became one of the key participants in my study and who had fortunately already met me at the Swaziland Group meeting. Ditte was also positive about me coming along on the project visit and promised to bring up the topic with their Swazi partners. Another two weeks went by before I received an unexpected response from Ditte, inviting me to come along to Swaziland in two weeks' time with two other Nordic Solidarity volunteers. This short notice exponentially intensified the "learning process" (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 26) in the beginning of my field work, as I then immediately began to organize equipment, settle logistical details, carry out pre-departure interviews with the Nordic Solidarity volunteers, establish contact with Swazi Democracy, and read up on Swaziland and the two organizations involved as much as I could.

My early contact with Swazi Democracy deserves dedicated attention. I emailed the three Swazi Democracy staff members whom the volunteers would be working with. In my email I thanked them for their invitation, explained my interests in my own words, and asked to arrange a Skype call before the project visit. I received a prompt reply with a warm welcome but the reply did not address my questions about arranging a Skype call or my other logistical questions. According to the volunteers, this was a typical occurrence. For instance, even on the day of the departure, the Nordic volunteers were waiting to hear from the Swazi participants whether their suggested schedule for the upcoming visit was feasible. It was at this point that it occurred to me how I was not only studying how my participants would enter and make sense of the project visit as newcomers to carrying out a project visit. I was in fact also able to frame my own experience as that of an "outsider" (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 26) seeking to make sense of and navigate what was to come, just like the participants I was following to Swaziland. In other words, I could see my field work experience itself as a kind of transient social configuration involving myself and my research participants.

Finally, I learned from my pre-departure interviews with the three Nordic volunteers that while I was waiting for a response from Ditte, the Swazi partners had arranged a board meeting to discuss my potential participation and decided that they could benefit from the exposure my research could bring to the 'Swazi struggle'[13], by virtue of my research taking place in Swaziland and with their organization more specifically. In addition to this, during my interviews with the Swazi staff members, I

[13] An emic term referring to the political movement for democracy in Swaziland.

learned that it was not my research interest in international projects that spoke to them, but rather the opportunity for them to utilize my network as a platform for disseminating knowledge about Swaziland's political climate. Indeed, both the director and strategic leader of Swazi Democracy personally expressed their gratitude to me for taking an interest in a small country such as Swaziland. The reality was, however, that it was not me who chose Swaziland for any specific reason, but rather Swaziland chose me, as it were. In this sense, by going to Swaziland I had implicitly agreed to an "exchange" (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 1984, pp. 71-72) without having been aware of it beforehand.

As I discuss in Section 3.3.3.2 to follow, given the intensity of the field work experience and my lack of ethnographic field work experience, I felt unequipped at the time to decide whether to temper their expectations or somehow incorporate their wishes to the extent that I could. In other words, I was unprepared to answer for myself the question of - what is the role of an ethnographer, and whether I could see myself as an activist researcher.

3.3.1.4. Preparing for field work

An(other) unexpected task that proved time-consuming and required careful thought concerned the security concerns raised by Ditte, the volunteer who led the project visit to Swaziland from the Nordic Solidarity's side.

Ditte raised her security concerns during our first Skype meeting which was arranged a day after she sent the invitation to me. Prior to this, I was not aware of any security concerns related to the trip. During the Skype call I asked for relevant documents and details related to the project visit as well as any details about Swazi Democracy and Nordic Solidarity to acquire a basic understanding of both of the organizations, at least from her perspective. A large part of our call was also spent discussing logistics and other practicalities related to the fast-approaching trip. It was in this context that security concerns in their various manifestations came up, to my great surprise.

One of these concerned my safety as a further member of the delegation going to Swaziland. Ditte had been to Swaziland once before and informed me that it would be safest as a woman if I stayed at the same hotel with the Nordic volunteers and spent my evenings together with them as a group. She also invited me to participate in any field trips that were being arranged for them in Swaziland. With no first-hand experience of my own, I decided to follow the security measures suggested by my research participant (cf. Morgan & Pink, 2018) while traveling as a white female in an African country, as coined by Ditte, and while also being associated with a political solidarity organization in a country that is reported to function as an authoritarian

regime (see Section 4.2.1 for an account of the political situation in Swaziland).

The other security concern involved the safety of the Swazi participants. Ditte stressed that the discussions during the project visit, although not illegal per se, could result in the Swazi participants being imprisoned, should my recordings end up in the wrong hands. Imprisonment would have been reasoned on the basis of the highly controversial Suppression of Terrorism Act (African News Agency, 2016) from 2008 which forbids any activity of opposing political groups in the Swaziland. As a result, the data needed to be well protected. Ditte explained that the Swazi partners have all had experiences of imprisonment, and so they carry out their work fully aware of and anticipating this risk. This meant that the Swazi partners were not concerned about any future recordings - the concern came from Nordic Solidarity. Furthermore, as long as I was seen as part of Nordic Solidarity and not nearby any demonstrations, the risk of imprisonment would not extend to any of the Nordic volunteers or myself, at least according to Ditte[14]. In Section 4.4, I describe and reflect on the role that security concerns may have played during the field work. In the remainder of this subsection, I describe the steps I took to attend to Ditte's, or Nordic Solidarity's, security concerns.

Operating on the basis of this information, and with little time to become informed on researcher safety during field work (cf. Given, 2008; Howell, 1990; Sluka, 2006), I subsequently spent the two weeks leading up to the departure mostly focused on my participants' safety - setting up the recording equipment and hard drives, as well as determining security measures and routines for safe-guarding the data with the help of the IT team at the University of Copenhagen, who already had some prior experience with another research study which they had classified as 'high risk'.

The equipment that I took with me also posed a challenge in that it was highly valuable and would mark me as affluent. I had with me a laptop, two GoPro cameras, two Zoom audio recorders, accessories for mounting the GoPro cameras, and a number of backup batteries and SD cards. To draw less attention to me, I would carry them around in a simple fabric bag, or hide them in various places in the hotel room and store some of it in the safe in the hotel lobby while I was not on site or not using some of the equipment. These security procedures weighed heavy on my mind on a daily basis, which I tried hard to hide from my participants. I distinctly remember the sense of relief I felt once I had gone through security checks at the airport and sat at the gate for my flight back to Europe.

[14] Seven years prior, the very first Nordic Solidarity delegation together with their Swazi partners were detained and tortured by the Swazi police as they were caught being part of a political demonstration. This garnered international attention which forced the local police to release them. This incident also worked to propel Nordic Solidarity's support for Swazi Democracy going forward. No such incidents have taken place since then (Document 8, Appendix B).

Alongside taking care of the practicalities leading up to the trip, I began collecting data by carrying out pre-departure interviews. This phase is covered in the next section.

3.3.2. Data collection

While I was negotiating access to Nordic Solidarity, I did not have my 'ethnographer's hat' on, so to speak, which meant that I began to *consciously* collect data from the moment I was invited to participate in the project visit (February 2017). This section is organized around the data types that I collected from that point on and the considerations that went into collecting these. Figure 1 is a timeline representation of the data collection process.

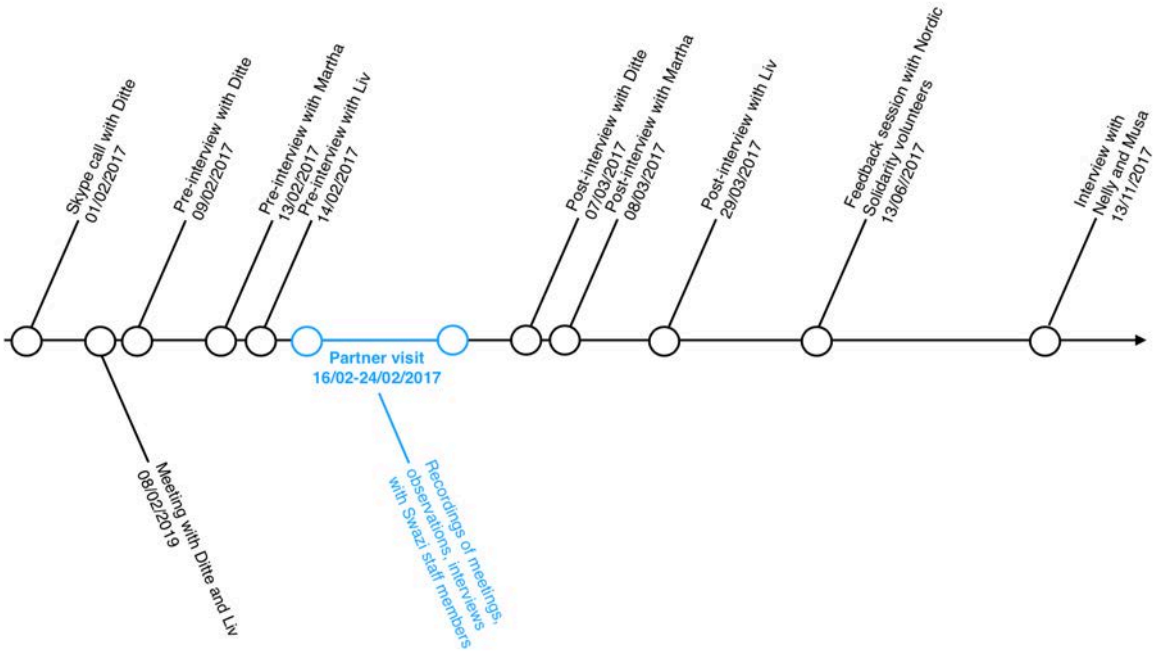

Figure 1: Timeline of data collection

Interviews with participants

The first data came from informal and formal interviews with the Nordic volunteers. I carried out interviews with volunteers from the Nordic Solidarity delegation (Ditte, Liv, and Martha) leading up to and after the project visit. The three Swazi Democracy staff members (Musa, Nelly, and Lucky), whom the volunteers worked with during the project visit, I was able to interview during and after the project visit (background information on the participants is provided in the ethnographic description in Section 4.3). In combination with the short notice of the invitation and prioritizing the face-to-face encounters between members of these two organizations as the core of my study, I did not realize that I could also spend time at Swazi Democracy or with its participants outside of the project visit time period. This meant that I was also not able

to interview them to the same extent as the Nordic Solidarity volunteers.

As a whole, however, my approach was to carry out formal interviews dialogically, structured around specific themes (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 44). This meant that I did not take any notes during the interviews but video- and audio-recorded them instead. I also wrote down my immediate experiences with and reflections on the interviews right after the interviews. I carried out the interviews according to a thematic guideline (see Appendix C) which I developed on the basis of the case study and feedback from the research project members. I adapted this guideline along the way depending on where in the timeline the interviews took place, later on incorporating questions and themes that arose or triggered my interest during the project visit.

The following is a brief account of these adaptations, first reflecting on acquiring participant accounts from the Nordic Solidarity volunteers and then from the Swazi Democracy staff members (see Appendix B for overview of interview data collected). Alongside these points, I also consider my own role in the interview process (Briggs, 1986, p. 4), viewing the interview as "socially situated" (Mischler, 1986, p. 2) where meaning and knowledge is a matter of co-construction (Seale, 1998) and therefore deeply "relational" (Thorpe, 2012, p. 52).

I focused my pre-departure interview guideline with the Nordic Solidarity volunteers around 'going into' the project visit, as well as around their professional backgrounds and reasons for joining Nordic Solidarity. I consciously made use of silence before asking a next question and held a "'listening' body posture" (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 46) to encourage further reflections. This generally worked out with the intended effect, with the exception of one participant who seemed to have a consistently more laconic conversational style.

Although I had met all three volunteers in person once before, these interviews constituted my first at length conversations with them. Since my opportunities to establish trust with them had been limited at that stage, I made a point of sharing bits of information about me or my professional history and academic background (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 47). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p.70) consider part of building trust the establishment of common points of interest or similarities, as field relations can be impacted by "personal characteristics [which] may shape relationships with gatekeepers, sponsors, and people under study in important ways" (p. 73). While I allowed these commonalities to emerge organically, a more intentional effort on my part was bringing my favorite chocolate to each interview which allowed me to share some information about me.

The emergence of these small moments in the interviews were helped along by me being roughly the same age and in a similar phase of life as the Nordic volunteers, which revealed several commonalities. While any overlap was not something that I

could have planned for, I do believe it helped counterbalance the time-constraint that impacted my field work and my ability to establish trust in the same way as I would have been able to do over a longer period of time. Nevertheless, I take these early interviews as instances of "situated performances" (Heller, 2009, p. 256) where two people perform specific social identities, providing accounts or requesting these in specific ways and under specific conditions. In this case, I believe this performativity was all the more exacerbated by the fact that these were first encounters between two strangers where first impressions were being formed.

Since I spent all of my non-recording hours with the Nordic Solidarity volunteers, I would also carry out informal interviews with them during the project visit, following the explicit suggestion from the volunteers themselves. Rather than formally sit down with each of them, I relied on the 'go-along' technique (Kusenbach, 2003) of posing questions immediately after or before specific activities to gain their perspective. These were brief periods, often carried out on the way to or from the Swazi Democracy office, or during mealtimes. Choosing these moments required a fair bit of sensitivity on my part so as to not interrupt or make every conversation about the activities of the day. Often these reflections emerged naturally among the volunteers. I made mental notes of keywords on the basis of these talks and typed them up in the notes in my phone once the opportunity arose, followed by a more sustained recollection of the interaction during my field note writing practice in the evenings.

The interviews which I carried out with the Nordic Solidarity volunteers after the project visit, some two weeks later, were qualitatively different from the pre-departure interviews. Having spent considerable amounts of time with the volunteers, and having been privy to many of their reflections, the thematic guideline which I developed came from a place of contextualized knowledge and with the intention of understanding the volunteers' practices and experiences at greater length (see Appendix C for interview guideline). However, these interactions also revealed a difficult balancing act for me. On the one hand, I wanted to refrain from discussing my own impressions of the project visit at that stage, most of which I had not had time to process myself. On the other hand, I was no longer able to feign ignorance given that I had been an observer in almost all of the meetings and behind-the-scenes discussions between the volunteers. When asked for my opinion on something, I would respond that I had not had time to process my experience, but I did go so far as to share some of my observations without going into interpretation. These post-project visit interviews therefore illustrate most clearly how "meaning is not merely elicited by apt questioning, nor simply transported through respondent replies; it is actively and communicatively assembled in the interview encounter" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004, p. 141), depending on the relations between specific social identities in a given time and space (cf. Garton & Copland, 2010). These considerations are

part of my turn-by-turn analyses of the interviews as joint meaning-making processes (Baker, 2002; Roulston, 2006; Holstein & Gubrium, 2004), and reflected in how I present the interview extracts by including the interview questions, what led up to the question being asked, and how the questions are then taken up by the interviewee.

Moving on, I set up the interviews with the three staff members of Swazi Democracy on an ongoing basis during the project visit, arranged to take advantage of openings in the agenda where one of the three staff members would have been available. The Nordic volunteers were very supportive towards this, despite the tight schedule for the project visit. While I was conducting the interviews with the Swazi staff, the rest of the group continued to work on their daily collaborative tasks. Despite the support, my first interview with a Swazi staff member did not take place until Day 3, and the last one not until the very last day of the project visit, Day 6.

Similarly to the pre-interviews with the Nordic volunteers, these were some of my first (and only) in-depth interactions with the Swazi partners and thus subject to the same considerations around sharing information about myself and my research interests in order to establish trust within the given time-constraints. I did not specifically ask about their experiences with this particular project visit (see Appendix C), but I did enquire about the ongoing project development process.

In fact, I observed that two staff members (Lucky and Nelly) seemed reluctant to discuss topics that I interpreted could potentially implicate the Nordic volunteers, such as experiences with project visits and creating projects. This reluctance was evidenced in their short, formulaic, or overly positive responses. These responses stood in stark contrast with those from the strategic leader of the organization, Musa, who I experienced as significantly more open and elaborate, albeit still diplomatic. Several reasons could be behind this – politeness, a combination of lack of ease in expressing oneself in English (a point which I elaborate on in a moment), unfamiliarity with the interview format and the invitation to reflect (Kubanyiova, 2008, p. 510), awareness of the recorder, social distance, or perhaps even my misinterpretation of their reluctance (cf. Gumperz, 1982). In those instances, I chose to reformulate some of the questions by making specific examples that they could reflect on which I thought could potentially be less sensitive to discuss. However, when I received similarly taciturn responses, I refrained from pushing the matter further to stay within 'microethical' (Kubanyiova, 2008, p. 510) considerations around issues that can arise during field work and jeopardize field relations. Nevertheless, "every interview *produces* [sic] something", as Blommaert and Jie (2010) remind us, and so the interviewees' "taciturnity becomes data and needs to be examined" (p. 58), as I have above and in the extracts that I have included in this thesis. I held one more interview with the Swazi staff members outside of the project visit period, which I reflect on in Section 3.3.3.1.

During these interviews with the Swazi staff members I was also conscious of social identities and experiences related to socio-economic differences which arose during the interview and which I was not able to mirror. In such cases, I would seek to understand more about the participants' lived experience. However, where ethically congruent, I would also foreground any commonalities that did arise.

On a further critical note, operating on the basis of the information from the Nordic Solidarity volunteers, I carried out the interviews with local staff in English, although field experience proved that this may not have been the preferred language for some of the staff and thus potentially resulted in less rich interviews. With more time to prepare for the field work, I could have planned more adequately for researching multilingually (Holmes, Fay, Andrews, & Attia, 2016). However, this oversight is common to development as a whole. Tesseur (2017) has highlighted how the predominance of English has only recently started to be challenged within development, and a call for working multilingually, e.g. through increased translation and interpretation, has slowly increased (Footitt, Crack, & Tesseur, 2018; Tesseur & Footitt, 2019; Chibamba, 2018; Maclean, 2007; Robinson, 1996). In this sense, by uncritically accepting the language practices reported by the Nordic volunteers, I inadvertently reproduced the hegemony of English by adopting it as the lingua franca for my field work as well.

Finally, it should be noted that my access to the Nordic participants' reflections, made possible by the practical arrangements, was that much greater compared to the reflections of the Swazi participants. Opportunities for unstructured talk with the Swazi partners were limited to brief moments before meetings or during breaks. As an exception, on the last evening, the Swazi Democracy accountant, Nelly, took us to a local festival, which allowed me to get to know her better. I am sharing this example to highlight that it was not for lack of interest from either side that unstructured socializing as limited, but rather constrained by the demanding agenda of the project visit.

Audio- and video-recordings of daily interactions

The most time-consuming part of the field work entailed collecting audio- and video-recordings of the daily meetings between the participants. I recorded largely all of the meetings that took place, on seven out of the eight project visit days (see Table 2, Section 4.4). I participated as only an observer during two independent field trips to local communities together with Nordic Solidarity and other locals. These did not concern the shared tasks between the two organizations, and thus were of secondary value to the ongoing work during the project visit. However, these trips did provide invaluable contextual understanding of living in Swaziland for myself and the Nordic volunteers.

During the project visit working days, I was welcomed to participate in and record all of the meetings without any exceptions. Prior to starting to record, I would typically introduce myself to who was present, explain my goals, and ask for their collective consent. I would then approach the individuals with a consent form during a break later on (see consent form example in Appendix H) and re-emphasize that they did not have to participate in the research. I was able to acquire consent from all participants that figure in my data already on the first day, and from the Nordic Solidarity volunteers already before their going to Swaziland. After acquiring consent, I would turn on the recorders as soon as possible and sit in one of the corners of the room, observing the discussions and making field notes on my laptop.

One of my concerns prior to departure was whether asking for permission to record would trigger anxiety for some participants, given the nature of their work and my status as a stranger. My fear was unfounded, however, as none of the participants made any objections and were readily willing to sign the form. It seemed that by virtue of my association with Nordic Solidarity, I was by default enshrined with a vote of confidence, a point also made spontaneously by the strategic leader of Swazi Democracy during my interview with him on Day 3.

The daily recordings of the meetings required a fair bit of multitasking between writing up a recording log, taking field notes, adapting camera recording angles due to the frequently changing seating arrangements so as to keep all of the participants in the frame, and keeping an eye on the battery and SD card statues as a result of the long working/recording days.

But the dataset of recordings has proven to be the most important tool for me for moving from being unfamiliar to getting to know the research site. Given the time-constraint on the project visit, my attention during the field work was primarily focused on collecting raw data, with little time remaining for ongoing reflections. I recognize that recordings are a partial representation of the activities that take place. They capture a certain point of view depending on the placement of the cameras and microphones, as well as what they have been positioned to record (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 201; Mondada, 2006; Schindler, 2009). At the same time, the recordings that I took have been crucial to being able to revisit *at a slower pace* what took place during these intense project visit days.

As a result of this choice to prioritize raw data collection, I was not able to move from a broader approach at the beginning of the field work to a more selective approach to recording over time, where I would only record what spoke to the themes and issues that had arisen as a result of my "ethnographic understanding" (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 32) obtained over a longer period of time. Instead, the focus of my field work remained to record every central meeting during this 8-day period so as to immerse myself in the data during the analysis phase and thereby

(re)acquaint myself with the research site (cf. Pink & Morgan, 2013, p. 353). In this sense, the intensity of the data collection period with its prioritization of audio- and video-recordings bears similarity with 'short-term ethnographies' (Pink & Morgan, 2013) and 'focused ethnographies' (Knoblauch, 2005), although this similarity is brought about by the nature of the project visit rather than an intentional study design.

Another data source which helped with recollecting the project visit were my field notes of observations.

Participant observations and field notes

Field notes have been a crucial archive for me on not only what I observed, but also how I felt about what I observed. In this sense, "field notes are authored accounts from a particular perspective rather than neutral descriptive accounts" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 10-16). Blommaert and Jie (2010) discuss how field notes:

> "tell us a story about *an epistemic process* [sic]: the way in which we tried to make new information understandable for ourselves, using our own interpretive frames, concepts and categories […] finding our way in the local order of things" (p. 37).

Following Spradley (1979, p.78), in my field notes I would write down the general image of what I observed to be taking place, situations which caught my attention, and my reactions to these. I would also note down potential connections with research questions for future reference.

Since I spent my non-recording hours together with the Nordic volunteers as a security arrangement suggested by Ditte, I also employed the 'go-along' technique to acquire reflections from the Nordic Solidarity volunteers during our joint dinners and other shared activities. In such instances, I would write down keywords on my phone during socially appropriate moments. Using my phone, rather than my laptop or a notebook, to jot down quick notes was for me a way to stay in the conversation without foregrounding my social identity as a researcher, as I could have just as well have been writing a text message. These keywords I would then use as a tool to recall the conversations and expand on my field notes at the end of the day.

Some reflections on my typical observation practices are also in order. I would typically sit in the corner of a given room with all of my equipment and my laptop. Since I and the Nordic volunteers were the only participants with personal laptops, this piece of portable electronic equipment seemed a rather salient indexical sign of differences in economic status, one that I comment on often in my field notes. In my case, I needed to use the laptop instead of a notebook to immediately transfer recordings to the hidden compartment on the hard drive which had been set up by the IT department as a safety measure. After the first few times of the participants seeing me adjust cameras, transfer files, or type on my laptop, my relatively quiet but noticeable activities no longer drew any attention from the participants. My actions

became routine to them as part of our "mutual learning process" (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 28).

One exception to the usual routine took place on the last day when, due to space issues, I was unable to sit in the same room where the meeting took place. Musa, the strategic leader of Swazi Democracy, then jokingly asked me whether I was spying on them from the other room. While it was curious for me that having me in the room seemed less alarming to Musa than when they were alone with the equipment, ethnographers being taken as spies has been reported as a somewhat common experience (Sluka, 2007, p. 219-220).

Finally, since I was typically a silent participant in the meetings, and my opportunities to establish field relations beyond the Nordic volunteers were limited, I brought chocolate to some of the meetings to fuel the participants' intense work days as a form of "mundane assistance" (Lofland et al., 1984, p. 71). While they appreciated this, also indicated by the speed at which the chocolate disappeared, my gesture resulted in the participants sometimes collaboratively joking that bringing chocolate was the only reason why I had been brought along, or that chocolate was a way for me to keep my informants happy and content. This is the only explicit case where the participants displayed their awareness of my omnipresence as a participant. Beyond these instances, my presence went relatively unnoticed, although I maintain that *"there is always an observer's effect"* [sic]" (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 27) by virtue of the fact that there is an observer present at all.

Overall, field notes have played a more substantial role for me as a form of memory recollection than as a source of analytical insight. In hindsight, my field notes are erratic and do not become more focused over time. This I attribute to the lack of time for reflection, my focus on collecting raw data, as well as my being new to understanding the full value and potential of field notes at the time. As a result, the analytical themes that I have taken up in this thesis rarely occur in my field notes, but my notes do provide ethnographic contextualization around situations which I did not record or aspects which did not come up as points of discussion in interviews. However, I have continued to journal as part of my analytical process. This practice has helped me pinpoint where "all sorts of personal idiosyncrasies" (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 38), fragments of memories from the field work, bits of conversations and scholarly literature have entered into my ongoing sense-making of the research site. As Hymes (1980, p. 99) reminds us, one cannot avoid partiality, but one can compensate for it by incorporating reflexivity into the interpretation process. I reflect further on my analytical process in Section 3.3.4. Dataset, analytical process

Collecting documents and other relevant texts

I began collecting documents with no specific research questions in mind ever since my first Skype call with Ditte. My approach to collecting documents was to ask for copies of items which pertained to the project visit and the texts being produced. With respect to the latter, I was able to secure final versions of these texts but no intermediary notes or texts that the volunteers produced. Since at the time of the field work I was not specifically interested in the role of texts in this project visit, I also left it open for the Nordic volunteers to choose which documents and texts they wanted to share. It was only until much later in the analytical process that texts being produced became a relevant source of data. At this point, over 2 years into my PhD process, I reached out to the Nordic volunteers, asking if they could share these with me, but I received no response from them. As a result of this, my discussion around the role of texts in this project visit is limited to what can be observed in practice, or what can be drawn from the documents that I was given access to during the project visit.

Field relations

Although I have reflected on field relations to some extent already, in this section, I take up this topic from the perspective of positionality (Coffey, 1999).

Any ethnographic work relies on field relations between the researcher and the researched. However, field relations are more complex than the dyad between researcher-researched, as other social identity categories can come up to enable or constrain the establishment of trust with the research participants (Coffey, 1999, p. 23). As mentioned, interviews were my first opportunities for establishing relations where I foregrounded my other membership categories at interactionally relevant points.

Regardless of how I attempted to position myself, I was also positioned by the research participants in ways that I could not predict. As experienced ethnographers have remarked, this is a normal course of an ethnographic field experience, which a researcher must navigate in order to establish, develop, and maintain relations (Heller, 2009; Coffey, 1999). For instance, some members of Swazi Democracy (only one of whom was a staff member, Lucky) considered me a part of Nordic Solidarity and discussed ideas or local issues with me, hoping that I could influence decision-making around future projects between Swazi Democracy and Nordic Solidarity. In such cases, I emphasized that I was not part of Nordic Solidarity but part of University of Copenhagen, and thus could not participate in decision-making.

Another way in which I was positioned was as an expert adviser, which I was anxious to avoid throughout the interviews and the project visit itself. This positioning mostly came about because of my interviews with the Swazi participants. This created

a situation where the Nordic volunteers would occasionally hesitantly ask me if there was something they should be aware of that was expressed by the Swazi staff. In doing so, they also appealed to knowledge about ethical concerns about me sharing these details with them while in the midst of field work. Although it was perfectly within my right to share interview findings, as that was part of the consent all of the participants had given me, I did not wish to become the informant to my informants, let alone at such an early stage of my research. Because of this, the field work experience was at times akin to walking a tightrope of maintaining ethical considerations as a researcher while also being privy to the perspectives of most of the participants from both organizations. Nevertheless, I took the occasional opportunity to share that no negative feelings were being expressed by the Swazi participants behind closed doors, which was also true.

3.3.3. Data collection after the project visit

About two weeks after the end of the project visit, when the Nordic volunteers had returned from their extended private trips to South Africa, and had had time to settle in, I carried out individual post-project visit interviews. For most of the volunteers, this interview was reported to be their first opportunity to reflect upon their experiences in Swaziland. At the end of these interviews I also asked whether I could participate in any of the Skype meetings between the Nordic and Swazi participants going forward, which was not seen as a problem. At the same time, I was also warned that these meetings might be planned or rescheduled at the last minute. Since I did not hear from the Nordic volunteers for a bit over a month after the last interview, I reached out to them and learned that there had been no substantial communication besides a few WhatsApp exchanges (see Section 4.1 on typical means for communication between the two organizations). These WhatsApp exchanges were reported to be about clarifying some details around one of the donor applications which the volunteers had been working on.

I did receive a same-day invitation to participate in a Skype call one Wednesday in April 2017. Unfortunately, I was unable to attend nor able to organize alternative ways of collecting this data. One of the Nordic volunteers, Martha, informed me that they wanted to discuss some changes in one of the project proposals, which she said were accepted by the Swazis without much discussion. Meanwhile, I was also told that the Swaziland Group had expanded by two new volunteers whose function was to help write one of the donor applications on the basis of the information collected during the project visit. In other words, a further transient social configuration had formed at Nordic Solidarity related to the project visit tasks.

In my case, after the project visit I began to transcribe and sieve through the data

(as described in Section 3.3.4). Blommaert and Jie (2010) argue that doing ethnographic research entails a cyclical process whereby the researcher returns to the field during the process of analysis, even after the main field work has been concluded. In this instance, a return to the field was not possible for me, largely because the 'field', which I take to be the project visit, had ceased to exist. The transient social configuration which formed the project visit only continued to exist virtually, and even then only sporadically. However, what was still possible was a repeated return to the participants to enrich some aspects of the data, which I describe next.

3.3.3.1. Feedback sessions

In June 2017, I invited the Nordic volunteers for a preliminary feedback session which all three attended. The purpose of the feedback session was to explore the Nordic volunteers' perspectives on four illustrative moments during the project visit (see transcripts of clips in Appendix J). On the basis of preliminary analyses, I had decided to ask the participants to reflect on 'who knows what', speaking to knowledge asymmetries, and 'who does what', speaking to role distribution. I provided the volunteers with transcripts of the four clips and invited them to jointly view selected clips with me before they shared their thoughts. The themes that I raised signaled to the participants that these issues are of interest to me and as such constituted my influence on what was relevant to discuss in the feedback session. As Shaw et al. (2015) also point out, the interpretation of data in such sessions will be influenced by the sharing of perspectives from both the researcher and the informants, and may not otherwise be equally as topical for the participants (Shaw et al., 2015, p. 125). My impression was that this was not entirely the case in this feedback session, judging by the strong reactions some of the clips provoked and which are also analyzed in this thesis.

The feedback session had a different quality to my previous interviews with the volunteers in that there was scope for me to act as an expert adviser on the basis of my analyses. However, it was not my intention to frame the feedback session as an intervention. Instead, I strived to maintain a "non-judgmental role" (Kobanyiova, 2008, p. 514) by asking open-ended questions about how the participants viewed, understood, and had experienced the activities in the clip, as well as how my observations spoke to or against the participants' experiences and perspectives. I generally accepted the direction that the participants took the conversation rather than imposed my own interpretations, thereby hoping to make space for them to come to their own conclusions about our discussions (cf. Kobanyiova, 2008, p. 514).

In this sense, a feedback session is a complex communicative event. It constitutes

an opportunity for the researcher to share his/her analyses but also to collect further data. However, what may need to be reported from a disciplinary knowledge standpoint may not necessarily need to be communicated to the participants from a psychological standpoint (Kobanyiova, 2008, p. 514). In this regard, I firmly believe in allowing people to develop their views in their own time. Following from this, I exercised a high degree of sensitivity to how the participants seemed to respond to our discussions. At the end of the feedback session, I asked the participants to explicate their conclusions at the time (i.e. 'What are some of the key learnings from this session for you?'), which revealed the joint construction of meaning and sense-making that had taken place during the feedback session.

Inspired by the feedback from the Nordic volunteers, I set out to arrange a similar feedback session over Skype with the Swazi participants. This meeting took six months to materialize, due to various factors which demanded the full attention of the Swazi Democracy staff members. It was not until November 2017 that I was successful in arranging a Skype meeting. By this point I had decided to change the meeting from a feedback session to a follow up interview, given the lack of interest expressed by the Swazi partners in their responses to my original idea. Musa, the strategic leader, insisted that the call be a group one, which is a practice he reported to carry out as a way of avoiding information silos. He was only joined by Nelly, the accountant, who left some way through the call due to other obligations. In this sense, the follow-up interview ended up mostly concerning Musa's reflections.

In addition to this, it was a difficult call as it was characterized by frequent repetitions of what was previously said. This was due to connectivity issues from the Swazi side and the drilling noise coming from the place where I was sitting. My goal for this call was to probe deeper into the Swazi staff's perspectives on being part of the development world and as partners with Nordic Solidarity. Musa responded with, based on my impression, as much openness as he possibly could, given that Nordic Solidarity was and is in a way their employer. While the Skype call itself was technically frustrating, and I was only able to gain insight into Musa's perspective, I ended the call with an entirely new appreciation for my data, on which I had by that point worked on for nine months. Armed with new insight, the limited interview data with the Swazi Democracy staff members from the project visit period suddenly became even more glaringly obvious *post hoc*.

3.3.3.2. Field relations coming to an end

In January 2018, I reached out to the Nordic volunteers and offered to do a workshop on some more concrete observations from the data that could be useful for the organization itself as well as the volunteers. Unfortunately, only Martha responded

with interest, with the caveat that she had left the country and was therefore only able to join via Skype. I did not receive a response from Liv or Ditte even after several follow up emails. A year after the project visit, my field relations were therefore non-existent. In January 2019, I reached out to Martha only to see if she could clarify a small detail for me, but I also failed to secure a response this time, even after a follow-up email. It is difficult to speculate why the field relations came to an end. I can only imagine that this was perhaps due to the experience of the feedback session as more face-threatening than it seemed to me, due to the volunteers potentially having moved on from Nordic Solidarity, or perhaps having simply forgotten to respond.

Meanwhile, I have not reached out to the Swazi partners since my interview with Musa in November 2017. One of the main reasons being that my research focus did not seem of any particular interest to them. Their interest in inviting me was to use my platform to spread knowledge about Swaziland, which I have certainly done at academic conferences. I also shared this point with Musa in November 2017, who was supportive of the effort, although I am not entirely convinced that this is the platform he would have had in mind. In hindsight, I could have been more explicit throughout the field work that the extent to which I am able to utilize my platform for their agenda is limited. For instance, following Reynolds (2018) who in her doctoral study of legal interviews with asylum seekers took the approach of being explicit about the limits of what she can contribute to the research participants. This was needed because she was approached by the legal advisers for help due to Reynolds' professional experience in law, and by the asylum seekers who hoped that she could help them with their cases.

Before moving on to describe my analytical process, a final critical note on the short time period of the field work is in order. Among anthropologists, there is a view that ethnographic field work should entail long-term immersion in a research site to uncover the lived experiences of research participants. This can lead some to question whether this study qualifies as ethnographic at all (cf. Agar (2006) on critiques of what constitutes an ethnography). The lifespan of my field work indeed challenges ideas about the 'traditional' length of an ethnographic field work. However, due to the short-term nature of the project visit, it would have been impossible for me to immerse myself in it for any longer than the project visit lasted. The same applies for the participants who had only a limited amount of time to make sense of their shared time and work together. Following from this, my position on what qualifies as ethnography is in line with Blommaert & Jie (2010) who view ethnography as a way of gathering knowledge through data (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 13) with its own epistemology and ontology, rooted in the view that language and social life are interconnected. Understood from this perspective, an ethnography is not qualified by

the time it takes to carry out field work, and can therefore equally be data-intensive and short-lived (e.g. Pink & Morgan, 2013; Knoblauch, 2005) as well as slow and spanning across a decade (e.g. Blommaert, 2013).

3.3.4. Dataset, analytical process, and writing up

In this section I summarize the analytical process following the post-project visit interviews and leading up to the write-up phase of this thesis. Table 1 provides an overview of the dataset that I collected, with a more detailed overview of the different data types in Appendix B.

Table 1: Overview of the dataset

DATA TYPE	AMOUNT
Audio- and video-recordings of meetings	34 hours
Audio- and video-recordings of interviews	13 hours, 12 interviews
Audio- and video recordings of feedback sessions	2 hours, 1 feedback session
Fieldnotes of participant observations	60 Word pages, 17 files
Documents and other texts	8 documents

I began by immersing myself in the data by roughly transcribing and coding naturally-occurring data over a 6-month period using Transana (Woods & Fassnacht, 2018), while the interviews were transcribed by a student assistant. Along the way I asked myself the question of 'what's going on here?' (Copland, 2015, p. 119, cf. 'unmotivated looking' (Psathas, 1995)) to determine the general features of the recorded activities and participant categories, rather than start with preconceived ideas about what these activities may be. In the process of working with both interview and interactional data, I made notes of patterns, emerging themes and questions, and developed a set of central keywords. Once I had grasped the salient general features and themes in the data, I moved beyond description and asked 'where does this come from?" by taking a longitudinal lens on my data and tracing where certain phenomena first emerge and then re-appear, how they transform over time, or how they may be linked with a wider institutional framework. I also asked the question 'why this now?" (ten Have, 2007) to pay attention to the co-constructed nature of both recorded meetings as well as interviews and feedback sessions.

On the basis of the above preliminary analyses, I built thematic collections of sequences and interview extracts which I spent more dedicated attention on to

determine which lines of inquiry were worth pursuing further. I would periodically also put the data aside and conduct literature reviews related to my observations. From very early on it became clear that the project visit setting has not been studied at the same level of detail. This forced me to read even more widely to find comparable social settings, which provided me with a solid understanding of the various directions that I could take the analysis. Nevertheless, some of the themes proved too thin and were thus put aside. A few proved prominent, which I continued to work on by transcribing the data involved in greater granularity, as well as by drawing eclectically from different sources of literature and guiding questions to explore these themes. At that stage, I also added the question of 'how do I know that?', which Copland (2015, p. 119) argues forces the analyst to ensure that the ongoing analyses are contextually situated.

Summarizing this process as neatly as I have done here does not do justice to the messiness of my analytical process as I explored different themes that emerged. While I took a largely bottom-up analytical approach, as Hymes (1980) argues, any research is guided by prior ideas about what is relevant or interesting to look at. In my case, while I did not draw from any pre-defined categories or theoretical concepts, I did keep in mind the overall research questions, and the kind of social phenomena these privilege, to anchor my different attempts of getting at the *complexity* of the data (Blommaert, 2007, p. 682).

My analytical process was also influenced by feedback on my conference presentations and several informal data sessions. In data sessions (ten Have, 2007, p. 140-142), I would share one extract from the dataset with a diverse academic audience and contextualize it for the researchers present. The audience members would then provide their analytical perspective on the data and suggest further aspects to look at or existing works to draw from. I also benefitted from ongoing reading sessions and subsequent collaborative theorizing in the TMC project's research team, which provided inspiration for my individual analytical process.

3.3.4.1. Transcription

Transcription has been an important part of my analysis as it has helped me familiarize myself with the data and the research site, as previously discussed. However, transcription is not neutral as it entails choices around what and how to transcribe (Niemants, 2012, p. 165, Bucholtz, 2000; Hammersley, 2010)), and works to remove utterances from the context of their occurrence (Hartmut & Mortensen, 2016). In this sense, while the arguments in this thesis are built around transcripts, transcripts are not a representation of the recorded interactions, but a reflection of my analytical choices around the level of detail needed for the arguments that I want

to make (Ochs, 1979). The following is an overview of these choices, drawing from Niemants (2012) and Copland and Creese (2015).

To launch the analytic process, I first produced rough transcripts of recordings of interactions in Transana, to code and segment data (ten Have, 2007, p. 122). The interview data was transcribed orthographically in full using CLAN (MacWhinney, 2000) by a student assistant and according to the agreed upon transcription conventions (Appendix D). Once I had narrowed down my focus to select themes after repeated viewings of data, I then transcribed select sequences in more detail, paying attention to both verbal and non-verbal conduct. I did not transcribe the phonetic quality of talk as the language varieties spoken by the participants did not become of central interest. Instead, I transcribed orthographically in the interest of readability, together with commentary on the multimodality of the talk. In terms of transcribing the multimodality of interaction, I have made my selection of what modes to transcribe while guided by my analytical interests, which inevitably results in some modes being highlighted and others omitted (Bezemer & Mavers, 2011), although I maintain that "interaction is not only configured by talk, but also by a range of embodied resources which are temporally organized to develop particular activities and forms of participation" (Day & Wagner, 2019, p. xiii). For instance, I have omitted using images to demonstrate non-verbal conduct, and only employ one image per transcript to provide a visual contextualization of how the participants are sitting relative to one another and any relevant material objects during the transcribed interaction. However, omitting this level of granularity with respect to multimodality should not be read as a commentary on the lack of relevance of other modes, but rather as an analytical choice on my part.

Once I had settled on two analytical themes and fleshed out the structure of this thesis, I revisited the transcripts of interactional data in those thematic collections and amended the transcripts depending on the level of granularity needed. For instance, some transcripts in this thesis only contain verbal conduct (including prosody, pauses, backchannels, overlaps etc.), while other transcripts entail both verbal and non-verbal conduct. Finally, I indicate non-verbal conduct and contextual details are transcribed in light grey to support readability.

3.3.4.2. The ethnographer's voice

Every ethnographic research and description entails the researcher with his or her "range of biases, ideas, emotions and feelings to the research" (Copland & Creese, 2015, p. 97; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 17). The way in which I interpret the data, how I present the data, and what I choose to foreground and background are all a reflection of my active role in the analysis and narrative building. Any research is inevitably partial (Hymes, 1980; Clifford, 1986; Haraway, 1991), and so these

partialities should rather be incorporated into the interpretation, and ultimately, in the presentation. I account for this in several ways. I provide at different points in this thesis a metacommentary on how certain analytical interests have come about and why they are worth investigating. I also explicate the discursive nature of extracts analyzed as well as contextualize them. Furthermore, since my analytical process has entailed staying relatively close to the empirical data, I refer to supporting evidence for my arguments where necessary so as to highlight the analytical process that has gone into certain argumentative points.

3.3.4.3. Representing the participants

Participants can be represented according to a number of social parameters. For the most part, I employ members' categories for the participants, such as 'volunteer', 'partner' etc. However, audience members to my presentations have often pointed to social parameters such as gender, age, race, and socioeconomic status, which clips from the video data have evoked for them, and which I generally do not discuss in my presentations. It is factually correct that there are great differences between the participants along these social parameters, which can play a role in the way that the participants orient to one another in ways that are not immediately observable. The Nordic volunteers are young women in their mid- to late 20s, while the Swazi partners are considerably older and therefore more experienced[15]. The Nordic volunteers are visibly identifiable as white Caucasian and the Swazi partners as African. It is also true that the Nordic volunteers do not have the same stake in the political movement as the Swazi partners – the former can always find other employment, while the latter is directly dependent on Nordic Solidarity for income and for realizing their political goals in Swaziland. On a factual level, what my audience has noticed in the data is absolutely correct and not gone unnoticed by me. The tricky part is making analytically warrantable claims about the role of etic categories - such as race, gender, age etc. – in the everyday business of the project visit, especially when these social parameters are not topicalized by the participants in the interactions nor in their accounts (cf. Billig, 1999; Wetherell, 1998; Day, 2008). While it is certainly possible to discuss the reasoning for why these social parameters are invisibilized by the participants in favor of categories informed by institutional identities, this discussion would go beyond the present research focus.

As one very notable example of how the data has been taken up, some 1,5 years into my PhD, one white South African (self-identified) scholar at an international academic conference interpreted a laughter produced by Musa in response to Ditte's

[15] Their exact age has not been possible for me to determine, but on the basis of their professional trajectories, I would estimate that the Swazi partners are at least 10 years older than the Nordic volunteers.

question as a way of patronizing the latter. The audience member claimed to have personally been a recipient to the type of laughter, which she observed in my data, by a black South African. As a result, she treated the laughter in my data as a contextualization cue (Gumperz, 1982, p. 131) with a culturally/racially specific meaning. This interpretation highlighted the situated and interpretive nature of the kind of analytical work I am engaged in, as well as the reflexivity needed in order to represent the participants and the issues or asymmetries that may play a role in their interactions with one another. The interpretation of this South African scholar underscores the point that not only is my interpretation of the data limited in terms of identifying potential locally specific contextualization cues, but the same is quite likely also the case for the participants in my study who may have limited experience with one another's ways of behaving. While I entertained this line of investigation for some time, I ultimately found that there was too little empirical warrant for me to build a convincing dissertation. I have therefore chosen to refrain from discussing the role of age, gender, race etc. In doing so, I do not deny the potential role these may play. Rather, I choose to foreground those categories which are made relevant by the participants themselves.

Confidentiality has also played a crucial role in my choice of categories for representing the participants. Due to the security concerns raised by Ditte, there was an ongoing discussion with the volunteers during the project visit around the degree of anonymization needed for any presentations or publications. My conclusion from this discussion was to assure anonymity on the level of names of participants and organizations involved, as well as the geographical origin of Nordic Solidarity and the participants who originate from the same country as Nordic Solidarity. The only exception is made on request of the Swazi partners that I would name Swaziland so as to spread knowledge about the political situation in the country through my research.

In this chapter, I provided an account of my ontological and epistemological positions and the methods that I have adopted. I also described the data collection process, my principles for analyzing the data, and presenting my analyses. In the next chapter, I provide an ethnographic description of the research site.

4

4. Ethnographic background: Transient project visit

I launch my ethnographic description by starting from the broad, which is the partnership between the two organizations (Section 4.1) and the goals of the individual organizations (Section 4.2), and moving on to the specific project visit (Section 4.3) and the core participants in this study (Section 4.4). This ethnographic description is based on my field notes, interviews with the participants, as well as various texts and documents that have proven relevant in understanding this setting. As with any ethnographic account, it should be seen as a synchronic description of the studied setting in a given time and space, motivated by my research interests. In other words, I hold that any ethnographic account should be read as partial and fragmented, experienced from the subjective perspective of the ethnographer (cf. Haraway, 1991).

4.1. The partnership

In this section, I provide a brief history of the partnership between the two organizations, Nordic Solidarity and Swazi Democracy. Owing to the ambiguity that comes with a notion such as partnership (see Section 2.3), I refrain from discussing it in any great depth as the focus of this study is not an evaluation or analysis of the partnership as a whole.

Nordic Solidarity and Swazi Democracy have been in a formal partnership since 2010. The strategic leader of Swazi Democracy, Musa, explained that the need for this came about due to changes in the political climate in Swaziland (see Section 4.2.1) which forced Swazi Democracy to unregister as a legal organization. Becoming an unregistered entity closed off any potential funding opportunities for Swazi Democracy, as donors typically only fund legal entities. Meanwhile, Nordic Solidarity had strong relations with different political organizations in South Africa. Through regional conferences and congresses, Musa reported that members of Swazi Democracy and Nordic Solidarity established a connection and agreed to form a partnership to assist the political movement in Swaziland, despite Swazi Democracy's unregistered legal status. It was in 2010 that the two organizations created their first development project together, with which they (successfully) applied for donor funding and which was subsequently implemented in early 2011.

These projects typically entail political mobilization activities carried out by Swazi Democracy in Swaziland, or workshops which enhance the capacity of Swazi Democracy and its affiliates. Vast majority of donor funding therefore goes towards funding these activities, the administrative costs of Swazi Democracy, and a small part of it towards any project visits between Nordic Solidarity and Swazi Democracy.

In this sense, the partnership with Nordic Solidarity can be seen as a matter of livelihood for the political movement in Swaziland. This inevitably creates a relationship of dependence when Swazi Democracy is only able to get access to funding through creating development projects together with Nordic Solidarity. However, Nordic Solidarity is not just regarded as a means to an end, as Musa also expressed an appreciation of the pressure that Nordic Solidarity puts on the political actors that operate in Swaziland.

On a practical level then, there is a kind of distribution of tasks in this partnership, although it was difficult to ascertain whether this had been agreed upon explicitly or implicitly over time. Nordic Solidarity seems to provide access to donor funding, while also carrying out the bulk of the paperwork that comes with donor funding, and puts pressure on political actors through various communication channels. Swazi Democracy carries out the projects which they create together with Nordic Solidarity as well as participates in carrying out bureaucratic tasks. The extent to which Swazi Democracy should be taking on the bureaucratic tasks is actually a contentious topic, one that is discussed in Part II of this thesis.

Majority of the partnership is said to be carried out remotely, although there are also periods of week-long face-to-face encounters between the two organizations. Typically, 2-3 times per year, changing constellations of delegations of Nordic Solidarity volunteers would go to Swaziland for project visits, as these visits are referred to, during which they carry out a variety of tasks – monitoring projects on behalf of donors, creating new projects together with Swazi Democracy, consulting local community members. Occasionally, Nordic Solidarity also assists with bookkeeping as the donors which fund the projects also make visits to Swazi Democracy. In such a case, Nordic Solidarity volunteers explain, they aid Swazi Democracy by making sure that the budget reporting is in order, thereby eliminating any potential issues with donors. There are also political conferences that Nordic Solidarity hosts for its partners around Africa, which means that members of Swazi Democracy have also visited Nordic Solidarity headquarters, and other locations, for these events.

Beyond face-to-face encounters, ongoing communication is said to be carried out via semi-regular Skype meetings and more frequent WhatsApp messages. Due to poor internet connection in Swaziland, Skype meetings are experienced by both parties as a difficult communication mode due to frequent connection breakdowns.

This is something that I also experienced in my attempt to carry out an interview with the Swazi partners after the project visit. Regardless, WhatsApp seems to be the preferred mode of communication, as it provides encryption and is also widely used in Swaziland as a tool for organizing political activism.

4.2. The two organizations in the partnership

In this section, I describe the history and work of Nordic Solidarity and Swazi Democracy. It is important to note that my understanding of these two organizations is based on participant accounts rather than observations on my part. This is because of the study design where I prioritize the transient social configuration proper, which is the project visit, rather than the workings of the organizations.

4.2.1. Swazi Democracy

Swazi Democracy is based in Swaziland, a small land-locked country in the southeastern part of Africa. The organization was formed in 2008 as an umbrella organization, made up of eight grassroots political affiliates, as they are called, each targeting a different segment of the population. The goal with forming Swazi Democracy was to consolidate the political actors in Swaziland to create a stronger civil society, and to challenge the absolute monarchy in Swaziland to democratize the country and eliminate poverty.

The need for such an organization should be understood against the backdrop of the social and political environment in Swaziland. Namely, it has been reported (Rooney, 2018; also Document 6, Appendix B) that Swaziland is largely run as an authoritarian regime where King Mswati III rules over government structures, enforces censorship to national media outlets, and resorts to violence against any opposing voices in the country. In fact, in the same year when Swazi Democracy was formed, King Mswati III passed the controversial Suppression of Terrorism Act which identified four political organizations as terrorist organizations (African News Agency, 2016). Any members of these or their affiliate organizations risked facing imprisonment[16]. Since some of the members of these four organizations were also part of the board of Swazi Democracy as heads of different affiliate organizations, Swazi Democracy was forced to deregister as a legal entity not long after being formally established. This also meant that many of the civil society organizations in Swaziland were immediately under constant surveillance.

[16] Many members of Swazi Democracy have brutal stories to tell about their experiences with the regime. I overheard these stories being willingly shared with the Nordic volunteers by members of Swazi Democracy to make specific examples about the regime in Swaziland. In fact, two of the staff members in this data, Lucky and Musa, have personally experienced imprisonment at the hands of the regime.

Although the organization continued to remain as active as possible, deregistering was not just a small change in the organization's legal status. Instead, the change had dire consequences for the organization's independence, and also paved the way for Swazi Democracy to partner up with Nordic Solidarity in 2010, as previously discussed.

Another way in which the Suppression of Terrorism Act has impacted the work of Swazi Democracy is in the way that it has transformed political activism in Swaziland into a high stakes endeavor. The staff and large group of activists of Swazi Democracy report to be frequently followed by the Swazi police in an effort to catch them in the act of mobilizing people or marching on the streets. That the police are a silent presence in the everyday work of Swazi Democracy was not only something I heard about, but also an experience I was exposed to during my field work. This happened when I joined the Nordic Solidarity volunteers and Lucky, the local activist coordinator, as an observer on a visit to a local community in the countryside. It is important that I briefly stop and elaborate on this experience to clarify how I understand the police to impact the work of Swazi Democracy and its activists.

The meeting I participated in was organized for the Nordic volunteers to get a sense of the issues in one particular community and was carried out in a one-room community building, with the door left wide open for anyone to join. I recalled the following situation in my field notes later on:

> Suddenly, [local activist] says that the police are outside. One man says they always do this when there are many people together. They want to know what we are talking about. [Lucky] is invited outside, [local activist] and another woman are already outside talking to the police man, but he isn't even wearing any officer clothes and he seems quite smiley, which is all a bit unexpected for me. [Ditte] says I guess we need to have more soft questions now. Someone comes in. The guy from before says this is a comrade[17] and we all relax. When [Lucky] is back he says we can continue and explains more quietly to me that people fear the police and this is why it is even more important that the family [of an activist] understands the political struggle and supports [the activism]. Big numbers is a problem – police come every time so you can't meet consistently. Under the guise of other activities, [the activists] do political talks with people (Field notes 12).

Although the activists and Lucky managed to diffuse the interest of the police, they remained parked in a police car on the road close to the building. Once the volunteers and Lucky concluded the meeting, some of the local activists walked with us along the road until a local bus appeared to take us back to the head office. The police car was in line of sight for most of this walk.

[17] Comrade is a term used to refer to allies of the political movement.

I share this experience to illustrate the ways in which the presence of police has an impact on even the smallest of community gatherings, the work of Swazi Democracy, and potentially also on the project visits. The extent to which the omnipresence of police influences the level of consideration of the local activists and the Swazi partners when interacting with each other, with the Nordic volunteers, or with myself is difficult to ascertain. Navigating an environment with frequent police surveillance is bound to result in strategies of survival, so to speak, but I have serious doubts about how easily observable they would have been to an untrained eye, as was and continues to be the case with me. Having said that, it is quite likely that how meetings were carried out during the project visit, or to what degree the Swazi partners were willing to be open, could have been influenced by these security concerns.

Finally, most of the meetings with affiliates, Nordic Solidarity, or other stakeholders, take place in Swazi Democracy's office, which has been acquired with the help of donor funding. The fact that the office exists poses a sort of a paradox. On the one hand, Swazi Democracy is not allowed to operate as a legal entity in Swaziland, and yet it is well known where their office is located and what is the nature of their work. For this reason, there was also police presence nearby the office building itself, but at no point was the building itself or Swazi Democracy office visited by any police officers.

4.2.2. Nordic Solidarity

Nordic Solidarity's website states that the organization was founded by a number of political entities in the 1970s in an effort to combat colonialism and its effects in Africa. From the beginning, the organization has aimed to support a growing number of various African countries' grassroots movements which focus on economy, democracy, and human rights (Organizational Guidelines, Document 2, Appendix B). The strategic approach of the organization (Strategic Guidelines, Document 3, Appendix B) claims to be built around the idea that if people mobilize themselves and have access to necessary resources (material as well as knowledge), they are able to put pressure on their governments and hold them accountable for providing basic political, social, and economic rights to its citizens. In this light, the work of Nordic Solidarity involves, as far as their self-branding is concerned, on the one hand, empowering grassroots movements through capacity building (i.e. workshops), and, on the other hand, doing lobby and campaign work with relevant political actors in Europe, with whom their African partners may not have a direct line of communication.

A crucial aspect to Nordic Solidarity is that the organization does not have funding of its own. Instead, their funding is reported to come from voluntary financial support, donor funding for development projects, and to an increasingly lower degree, from

the government. Given the financial situation of the organization, it only has four full time employees at the time of writing (2019), while the rest of the organization (75% as quoted on their website) is largely run by volunteers, of whom there are around 150 (as quoted on the website). The Gatekeeper to Nordic Solidarity, whom I first talked to, explained that the volunteers are primarily Bachelor's and Master's students. Often, many of them are trying out work within development for the first time. As a result, there is a high turnover of volunteers, as many move on after some months of working on a project at Nordic Solidarity. However, a handful of more experienced and "stable" volunteers also exist. They tend to take on the role of mentors for the large number of newcomers.

Ditte, one of the Nordic Solidarity participants in this study, reports that because of this turnover, the organization relies heavily on a quick socialization of newcomers into the work by taking them along on a project visit as soon as possible. This requires that at least one experienced volunteer (which is qualified as a minimum by having been on a project visit to a given African country at least once) brings with him or her at least one new volunteer (which is qualified by not having been on a project visit previously). The goal in initiating volunteers in this way is said to be to maintain institutional memory and provide a modicum of stability for the African partners who are expected to adjust to several new volunteers throughout the duration of one development project.

The organization is made up of working groups, each tackling a specific issue, e.g. climate change, health rights, land rights, or a specific issue in a specific African country. All of the groups are said to be self-governed and fully responsible for planning and implementing activities. The groups also independently work out strategies for their goals, which are meant to be informed by the needs of their African partners, as well as how they organize their work as a group. Typically, the groups meet 2-3 times per month, and more often when campaign work or project proposals need to be produced. The explicit expectation from Nordic Solidarity's management is that the volunteers invest the necessary time it takes to fulfill their tasks at a high level of quality. Although none of the volunteers get paid for the hours they put in, being a volunteer is incentivized with the idea of making a change in the world, or specifically that 'there are people in Africa who are dependent on your work' (translation from original language on Nordic Solidarity's website, targeted at potential new volunteers, no English equivalent was provided).

The working group that figures in this study focuses on the democratic movement in Swaziland, which is referred to as the Swaziland Group. The Swaziland Group primarily focuses on campaigning on a national level (in the unnamed Nordic country) as well as lobbying with international political actors. Furthermore, The Swaziland Group is divided into two, whereby one half works with Swazi Democracy and the

other half with another Swazi organization, which is also involved in the movement.

When I first approached the Swaziland Group, it consisted of one founding member of Nordic Solidarity (who was not present during my first and only meeting with the Swaziland Group), one volunteer with 5+ years of experience in Swaziland at the time, and six volunteers, four of whom self-identified as new to the group in their general introductions to me. Two of those new volunteers ended up going on the project visit I participated in. Six out of eight of the group members were Nordic nationals, one volunteer was French, and one Canadian-Dutch. However, as I mentioned in my field work description (Section 3.3), this constellation changed even prior to me commencing the field work, and there were further changes in the Swaziland Group immediately after the project visit, with two new volunteers joining the group. As such, the working group itself qualifies as a transient social configuration where volunteers continuously join and exit the group. Out of this "main" transient social configuration, sub-transient configurations are formed as delegations that conduct project visits. One of these delegations is a part of the project visit studied in this thesis.

4.3. The main participants

In this section, I provide general details about the six core participants, three from each organization, that figure in this study. These details are based on my interviews with the participants where I also acquired background information about them. The most salient aspect about these participants as a whole is their diversity in terms of age, gender, educational and sociocultural background, professional experience in development work as well as in political activism. Furthermore, the participants have vastly different reasons for being part of their respective organizations. For the Swazi partners, it is the political goal and vision for Swaziland, as well as their own difficult personal experiences which have brought them to becoming a political activist. In contrast, the Nordic volunteers' motivation seems to primarily concern employability in an industry which they hope to potentially build a career in. As such, the difference in what is at stake for these two groups of participants is also stark.

Swazi Democracy participants

The core of Swazi Democracy consists of three staff members, all based in the office, and employed full time through donor funding. All three staff members have different areas of responsibility – coordinating activists (Lucky), political strategy (Musa) and bookkeeping (Nelly). According to Musa, all three operate more or less independently of each other. I do not have any information about the language choices of the team, or with the rest of the organization – the board and the activists. However, my

impression while on site was that SiSwati is the preferred language, and English is primarily used to communicate with Nordic Solidarity, and other international stakeholders.

Musa is the strategic leader of Swazi Democracy who reported to have been an activist in different civil society organizations for 20+ years. Musa joined Swazi Democracy in 2011, not long after the partnership with Nordic Solidarity had been established. Musa explained that he took over from a previous strategic leader who had been deemed unsuitable for the role. At the time of the project visit, Musa was also working on finish up his law degree. He described his work responsibilities to involve lobbying locally with international stakeholders. He speaks English and SiSwati.[18]

Lucky is the activist coordinator at Swazi Democracy. He had been with the organization for about 10 years at the time of the project visit. In fact, Lucky was one of the first to be involved in the establishment of Swazi Democracy. Previously to this, he worked with nutrition in a local hospital, but questionable working conditions made him into an activist for worker's rights. This paved the way for him to become a part of Swazi Democracy. His work primarily revolves around coordinating local activists around the country. He speaks English and SiSwati.

Nelly is the accountant at Swazi Democracy with 5+ years in the organization. Nelly formerly worked in a textile factory where the poor working conditions forced her to become an activist. She also participates in the work of one affiliate organization that belongs under the umbrella of Swazi Democracy. As part of this organization, she also attends Africa-based international summits. She speaks English and SiSwati.

Nordic Solidarity participants

Nordic Solidarity volunteers, in contrast to Swazi Democracy staff, do not get paid for their work. Typically, volunteers carry out tasks for Nordic Solidarity from their own time. They also do not have clearly distributed areas of responsibility, but the volunteers that have stayed with Nordic Solidarity the longest do seem to take on the bulk of the decision-making and tasks. This is evidenced already in the way that they are expected to lead the project visits from the Nordic Solidarity's side while having new volunteers come with them. In this case, none of the three volunteers that

[18] The description of the key participants' linguistic resources is based on the idea of language repertoires (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). This means that it is their self-reported language resources that have been listed, although their competence in the named languages has not been discussed, as the multilingual nature of the project visit is backgrounded in this study.

participated in the project visit had worked together before, not with each other nor with the Swazi staff members. It should also be mentioned that all three of volunteers said that they had no previous experience carrying out the tasks with which they were assigned by Nordic Solidarity.

Liv is a new volunteer who had at the time of the project visit been with the organization for 6 months. At the time, she was studying for her Master's degree and had no prior experience working in an NGO. She had previously held a student job in a media company. She speaks English and one Nordic language.

Martha is another new volunteer who had at the time of the project visit been with the organization for 4 months. She had just graduated with a Master's degree in development studies, although she had no prior work experience in the industry. Martha was unemployed at the time of the project visit and therefore most vocal about the professional experience she was looking to get from volunteering at Nordic Solidarity. She speaks English, Dutch, and Frisian.

Ditte is the most seasoned volunteer out of the three, as she was asked to lead the project visit studied in this thesis. She had been with the organization for a year at the time, as she had previously worked as an intern in Nordic Solidarity for 6 months. Ditte is the only one who had been to Swaziland once before, together with one of the two senior volunteers in the Swaziland Group. However, she participated as an apprentice and the visit did not entail any of the tasks that took place during the project visit studied in this thesis. Ditte was also studying for her Master's degree at the time of the project visit and had some years of experience with leading youth activist groups. She speaks English, one Nordic language, and Swahili.

Donors

In addition to the physically present participants, there are also two *omnipresent* participants in this project visit. These are the two donors who the participants had planned to seek funding from to keep the democratic movement going. The donors are repeatedly evoked as relevant to the participants' ongoing work (as analyzed and discussed in Chapter 10, Section 10.3). These two donors I refer to as Donor Green and Donor Red.

Donor Green has a long history of funding the projects formulated together by Nordic Solidarity and Swazi Democracy. It functions as a national association for civil society organizations in the unnamed Nordic country, and distributes government funds through regular calls. The participants regard this donor as

'progressive', meaning that it is seen to align with the values of the two organizations.

Donor Red, on the other hand, has not funded any of the projects from this partnership before. Donor Red is a large multinational European donor, which is regarded by the participants as 'non-progressive'.

4.4. The transient project visit

This project visit was the fourth one over the course of a three-year project, taking place in the beginning of the last year of this ongoing project (Appendix N). As stated in the Project Visit Plan, which is partly produced by the previous delegation (which in fact included the Gatekeeper of Nordic Solidarity), and echoed by the Nordic volunteers in their interviews, the goal of this project visit was to create a new strategic plan for the new project proposal, evaluate the progress of the ongoing project, review the status of the budget, and consult various local stakeholders affiliated with Swazi Democracy. According to the Project Visit Plan, the Nordic volunteers were assigned the task of producing a project plan split into two donor applications, draft an evaluation report (status report), and an updated budget overview. The Project Visit Plan also mentions concerns about the possible low engagement level of the Swazi leadership team, i.e. the board, owning to past experiences, and the time constraint of eight working days for the outlined tasks. It is recommended that as much of the work as possible would be carried out within the given time frame so as to avoid working "remotely" [quotation marks in original] afterwards. It is noteworthy that the Project Visit Plan paints a rather unidirectional picture where the Nordic Solidarity volunteers are meant to extract information from the Swazi partners, and what this information is, is defined without their involvement. This can be seen to play out in the kind of participation frameworks that are established during the meetings (see analysis in Chapter 6).

The project visit itself lasted a total of eight days in February 2017, excluding travel days. Six out of the eight days were dedicated to meetings between the core participants. During those 8 days, the Nordic volunteers had arranged to (1) work with the three core members of the Swazi organization to fill out the project evaluation report, formulate a new project and split it into two donor applications (for Donor Green and Donor Red), (2) gather information about the state of affairs from the board of the organization, local volunteer activists, and the staff members, (3) participate in a field trip to local sugar cane fields to learn about to the working conditions of the sugar cane farmers, and (4) visit the home community of the one of local activists. In this sense, the content of the project visit was largely determined by the (knowledge and institutional) needs of the Nordic volunteers and Nordic Solidarity.

Table 2 provides a global overview of the activities during the project visit. In the table, I have only numbered the days where the core six participants work together - I also refer to these numbered days when contextualizing transcripts in this study. Finally, I use NS (short for Nordic Solidarity) and SD (short for Swazi Democracy) to refer to configurations where all three core members are present for the meeting. Where this is not the case, I have provided the names of the participants instead.

Table 2: Agenda and content of the project visit

DAY	ACTIVITY	DURATION	PARTICIPANTS
Day 1	Board meeting (AM) **Project monitoring (PM)**	3,5 hrs **3 hrs**	NS + board members, SD **NS + SD**
Sat	Visiting sugar cane farmers and sightseeing	All day	NS + local activists
Sun	Working on evaluation report	8 hrs	NS
Day 2	Workshop with Swazi activists (AM) **Project monitoring 2 (PM)** Budget monitoring (PM)	4 hrs **2 hrs** 2 hrs	NS + Nelly, activists **Liv, Martha + Musa** Ditte + Nelly
Day 3	Pre-meeting (AM) **Brainstorming for new project (AM)** **Donor Green application writing (PM)** Budget monitoring (PM)	1 hr **2,5 hrs** **3 hrs** 1,5 hrs	Ditte, Liv **NS + SD** **Liv, later Ditte + Musa** Ditte + Nelly
Day 4	Visiting local community (AM) **Donor Red application writing (PM)**	4 hrs **3 hrs**	NS + Lucky, activists **NS + SD**
Day 5	Board meeting 2 (AM) **Final planning of project (PM)** Meeting with board director V	2,5 hrs **1,5 hrs** 1 hr	NS + board members, SD **NS + SD** NS + board director V
Day 6	**Budget planning (AM+PM)**	**5 hrs**	**NS + SD**

Given the sheer heterogeneity of the meetings and participant configurations, I made the choice of primarily focusing my analyses around the meetings between the six core participants, with some exceptions[19]. The meetings that I have worked with in detail have been marked in bold. The unmarked meetings have been employed for ethnographic data where necessary. Below, I provide an account of what were the goals of these meetings, based on my observations of the recordings and conversations with the participants. This overview is necessarily brief as I return to

[19] These exceptions were made in the case of meetings which had a significant role to play in the overall goal of either evaluating the ongoing project or formulating a new project (such as project monitoring 2, Day 2, and Donor Green application writing, Day 3).

outlining the various relevant aspects of these meetings in the analysis sections in Part I and Part II.

Project monitoring meetings

In the monitoring meetings (Day 1 and Day 2), the participants worked on filling out an evaluation report on the progress of an ongoing project between Nordic Solidarity and Swazi Democracy. This report was intended for the donor, Donor Green, who had funded the project. These evaluation reports are done periodically during project visits and against a number of indicators previously defined as part of formulating a project. Ditte and Liv explained that the evaluation report was first sent to Swazi Democracy to be filled out by the Swazi staff members. However, it was concluded in Nordic Solidarity (although unclear to me by whom) that the Swazi staff had not answered the report questions in good enough detail. Thus, it was decided that this delegation would spend the necessary amount of time during this project visit to fill in those gaps of information.

Writing the project proposal meetings

The project proposal meetings entailed the brainstorming meeting (Day 3), Donor Green and Donor Red application writing meetings (Day 3 and Day 4), final planning meeting (Day 5), and budget planning meetings (Day 6). Formulating the new project and writing the two donor applications took up the majority of the project visit period. This process involved assessing and identifying the current state of the political movement from the perspective of relevant stakeholders. Based on this, overall objectives were set for the new project, and then split between two donor applications depending on which ideas the donors were seen likely to fund. Around these objectives, relevant activities were chosen which supported the chosen objectives. Finally, expected outcomes or outputs of these activities were outlined and the budget finalized.

In this chapter, I provided an ethnographic account of the practical organization of the partnership between Nordic Solidarity and Swazi Democracy. In addition to this, I described the two organizations, outlined details pertaining to the six core participants, and their joint activities during the project visit. This concludes the chapters which work to frame this study. The next chapter, Chapter 5, launches the first analytical focus point in this thesis, which is related to participants mitigating knowledge asymmetries and thereby working towards a shared body of knowledge.

PART I – Working towards a shared body of knowledge

5. Introduction to Part I

One salient observation in the data concerns the participants' continuous orientation to knowledge asymmetries between them, both in their observable conduct and in their interviews with me. Investigating how the participants mitigate knowledge asymmetries, and how they make sense of the relevance of knowledge asymmetries in this project visit, can provide valuable insight into how people unfamiliar with one another go through the process of establishing a shared body of knowledge to be able to realize their joint tasks together.

Uniquely to Part I of this thesis, I analyze observable conduct and participant accounts as 'social domains' in their own right (Layder, 1997, 1998) in order to draw out what the two data types independently reveal about the relevance of and role played by knowledge asymmetries in this transient social configuration. In doing so, I do not suggest that other contextual factors do not play a role in the phenomena that I have observed in the data and analyzed in this analytical theme. It is simply an analytical choice to delimit my focus to situated activities and participants' perspectives only.

In Chapter 6, I investigate the discursive practices that emerge in navigating knowledge asymmetries, employing Conversation Analysis (as explained in Section 3.2.1.1). My interest is in the participants' interactional *methods* that emerge in the process of managing knowledge asymmetries and which can be seen to help them work towards a shared body of knowledge. Crucially, I do not seek to prove that a body of shared knowledge is in fact established over time. In this sense, my emphasis is on the *process* that the participants can be seen to go through.

In Chapter 7, I study how the participants make sense of their role in the project visit relative to their perception of knowledge asymmetries, employing meaning segmentation of interview data (as explained in Section 3.2.1.2). The analyses reveal the participants' normative expectations regarding role distribution, depending on the epistemic statuses they attribute to themselves or other participants.

In the present introductory chapter, I first describe the analytical process that led to this theme (Section 5.1). Thereafter, I define concepts such as 'knowledge', 'shared knowledge', and 'knowledge (Section 5.2) as some of the central theoretical terms in

this analytical theme (Section 5.2). I then review empirical studies which have problematized the lack of shared knowledge in transient workplaces (Section 5.3), substantiating the relevance of investigating how knowledge asymmetries are dealt with in this transient social configuration. In Section 5.4, I explicate the main analytical concepts within epistemics which I operationalize in the analyses in Chapter 6. Although a longitudinal analysis of participants working towards a shared body of knowledge has not enjoyed dedicated attention within Conversation Analysis, studies of epistemic change provide some insight into how participants can navigate knowledge asymmetries over time. These I discuss in Section 5.4.1. However, since majority of these studies draw from informal rather than institutional settings, in Section 5.5 I discuss how epistemic orientations are more pronounced in institutional settings as these can have implications for the participants' institutional roles.

5.1. Analytical process

In this section, I describe my analytical process as part of the present analytical theme.

5.1.1. Analyzing knowledge asymmetries in interaction

Following the preliminary analyses discussed in Section 3.3.4. Dataset, analytical process, I identified an ongoing orientation to knowledge asymmetries among the participants. Given its salience across the project visit days, I pursued this line of inquiry in more detail. I theorized that unequally distributed knowledge resources would influence *in situ* developed discursive practices in this transient social configuration. My more focused rounds of analyses were guided by two questions in particular – whether there is an observable change in orientations to knowledge asymmetries over time, and what kind of practices are employed or which can be seen to emerge as a result of navigating knowledge asymmetries.

The challenge in this analytical endeavor was the sheer heterogeneity of meeting types and social configurations, which complicated identifying and comparing phenomena over time and across meeting types. In order to mitigate this challenge, I narrowed my focus down to meetings where most of the six main participants can be seen working on the same task. This resulted in seven meetings which are listed in Table 3. These are the same meetings that were marked in bold earlier in

Table *2: Agenda and content of the project visit*, Section 4.4. The transient project visit.

Table 3: Meetings included for detailed analyses

DAY	MEETING LABEL	PARTICIPANTS[20]	MEETING GOAL	DISCUSSION MEETING	TEXT PRODUCTION MEETING
Day 1 (PM)	Monitoring meeting 1	Ditte, Liv, Martha, Nelly, Lucky, Musa	Producing evaluation report, sharing project ideas	YES	
Day 2 (PM)	Monitoring meeting 2	Liv, Martha, Musa	Finalizing evaluation report	YES	
Day 3 (AM)	Brainstorming	Ditte, Liv, Nelly, Lucky, Musa	Gathering ideas for new project proposal	YES	
Day 3 (PM)	Text production 1	Liv and Musa, later joined by Ditte	Writing Donor Green application		YES
Day 4 (PM)	Text production 2	Ditte, Musa, Lucky + Liv, Martha, Nelly	Two groups of three, writing Donor Red application		YES
Day 5 (PM)	Final planning	Ditte, Liv, Martha, Nelly, Lucky, Musa	Finalizing applications	YES	
Day 6 (AM+ PM)	Budget planning	Ditte, Musa + Martha, Nelly, Lucky	Two groups filling in the budget template		YES

After subsequent sequential analyzes of these meetings, I noted differences in the structural properties of these meetings. Subsequently, I categorized the meetings into two 'activity types' (Levinson, 1979) - discussion meetings and text production meetings (see two last columns on the right in Table 3 above). Based on the analyses, I defined a discussion-based meeting as one where primary emphasis is on verbal exchange, with text production in the form of note-taking orientated to as a marginal activity. In contrast, I take text production meetings to be those where talk is structured around donor applications' template criteria.

In my analysis of discursive practices related to knowledge asymmetries, the question emerged what knowledge may be already shared or come to be shared between the participants, based on their knowledge claims in ongoing interactions. Pitzl (2018) and Hazel (2017) have for instance asked a similar question with respect to linguistic resources and then mapped out the shared linguistic resources in two transient multilingual groups. However, mapping linguistic resources and knowledge resources cannot easily be compared as the latter can be a lot more ambiguous to

[20] The researcher was present as an observer for all of these meetings but has not been listed as a participant.

define than named languages. Thus, I abandoned the attempt to determine what knowledge may be shared and by whom. Furthermore, as my analysis in Section 6.1 shows, the institutional order that is talked into being may constrain some participants from making certain knowledge claims, making utterances an unreliable indication of a speaker's body of knowledge.

Subsequent analyses entailed employing analytic concepts from epistemic studies (which are explained in Section 5.4) to tease out how knowledge claims are publicly managed over time. As a result of these analyses, I uncovered a systematicity to who is allowed to make certain knowledge claims and who is not, e.g. who asks for information and who provides it, indicating another asymmetry at play. I suspected that this related to institutional roles and how these are talked into being. Following this working theory, I analyzed the openings of the seven meetings and the participation frameworks these talk into being, which resulted in a correlation with my observations around knowledge asymmetries. From this detailed analytical process, two analytical sections focused around emergent discursive practice were born – Section 6.1 on the emergent participation frameworks established around institutional and epistemic asymmetries, and Section 6.2 on conversational teaching as the most salient observation concerning orientations to knowledge asymmetries.

5.1.2. Topicalization of knowledge asymmetries in interviews

Working with interview data, I first built a collection of sequences where an interview question prompts the participant to claim to know or not know something, or attribute an epistemic status onto other participants during the project visit. These segments I transcribed in full and analyzed the turn-by-turn unfolding of how knowledge claims were topicalized and what these revealed. I continued to reflect on the connections between different participants' reflections – the ways in which they overlapped and diverged with one another, as well as what they revealed about the relevance of a shared body of knowledge in carrying out this project visit. The result of this analytical thought process is presented in Chapter 7.

5.2. Knowledge, shared knowledge and knowledge asymmetries

In this section, I define central theoretical concepts such as knowledge, shared knowledge, and knowledge asymmetries. As will quickly become apparent, common to all three notions is their lack of precise definitions in the literature.

'Knowledge' as a concept has been subject to theorizing in a number of different disciplines, and yet a precise definition has proven elusive. At the heart of the issue seems to be the question whether "knowledge [is] best understood as a thing or a

relationship?" (Barth, 2002, p. 2). Definitions of knowledge tend to either focus on the cognitive, internal aspect of knowledge (Geertz, 1973), or the way in which it is socially distributed between people through verbal and non-verbal language (Sidnell, 2005; Heritage 2012a, 2012b; Roth, 2002). Other scholars attempt to incorporate both aspects to knowledge (Barth, 2002; Crick, 1982; Cohen, 2010; Keesing, 1979). But the question remains - what is 'knowledge'? My understanding of knowledge entails both the cognitive aspect as well as its public management, best summarized as follows.

Knowledge encompasses our *experiences* of what we have seen, learned, and been told through various encounters and sources. These experiences also encompass what have been referred to as feelings, values, embodied skills, set of concepts (Barth, 2002, p. 1; Holzner, 1967, p. 9-10). Experiences are transformed into "a symbolic system and frame of reference" (Holzner, 1967, p. 9), constituting what people know, which reside in the cognitive realm of individuals (Cohen, 2010, p.194). This stock of knowledge helps us interpret the world around us and inform our actions as we move through life (Barth, 2002, p. 1). Crucially, while knowledge may be socially distributed, what people know varies greatly from person to person (Holzner, 1967, p. 10; Barth, 2002, p.1; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Schütz 1946). In providing this sketch of what I understand to be knowledge, I have not aimed to enter into a comprehensive discussion with philosophers, sociologists, or anthropologists of knowledge. However, by explicating my understanding of knowledge, I am better positioned to delimit my interest in knowledge in this analytical theme.

In this study, I am specifically interested in the social distribution of knowledge as evidenced in everyday talk-in-interaction, elucidated by studies of epistemics within Conversation Analysis (see Section 5.4 and 5.5 to follow). From this perspective, knowledge is defined in a much narrower sense, "as a distribution of rights and obligations to know and the consequences of such an understanding for the way people talk to one another" (Sidnell, 2005, p. 41). In other words, what is of interest is the moral ordering of knowledge (Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011) evidenced in how speakers themselves display their orientations to who knows what, who is allowed to know, who ought to know in specific situations, and the consequences these knowledge orientations have for the unfolding interaction.

A definition of 'knowledge asymmetry' is also in order. As mentioned, an individual's stock of knowledge can vary greatly from person to person, i.e. various kinds of knowledge are unequally distributed across society (Holzner, 1967; Schütz, 1946). Conventionally, this is referred to as 'knowledge asymmetries' i.e. where one person knows more than the other. However, determining whether and to what degree one individual knows more than another is not only a difficult task but also not the most interesting aspect about knowledge asymmetries. Instead, knowledge

asymmetries, understood as the unequal distribution of knowledge, are in this study taken as relevant only to the extent that these are displayed in and have consequences for the unfolding interaction (Linell & Luckmann, 1991, p. 5). This is especially notable in institutional settings, which is a topic I return to in Section 5.5.

Another relevant theoretical concept in this study is 'shared knowledge'. When speakers attend to knowledge asymmetries between them, we can presume that they then work towards some form of knowledge that overlaps – knowledge that all co-present speakers come to have. However, what it means to *share* knowledge and how this state comes about has been subject to a great deal of theorizing, and referred to as common ground (Stalnaker, 2002; Clark, 1996), mutual knowledge (Grice, 1957; Schiffer, 1972), common knowledge (Lewis, 1969; Stalnaker, 1973), shared knowledge (Holtgraves, 2002) and so forth. However, as Lee (2001) and Allan (2013) point out in their substantial overviews of these studies, there exists a conceptual confusion that has come about as a result of scholars using the same terms differently, or introducing new terms that may refer to the same aspects of existing terms. Furthermore, the above-mentioned scholars can be located within non-linguistically oriented disciplines such as philosophy and cognitive psychology. The central point that is important to extract from these studies is the implicit agreement that knowledge *can* be shared, but ways of verifying any overlap, how it comes about, and the nature of this 'sharedness' is complex. It is important to note that in this study it is in fact not my intention to identify whether this idealized state of shared knowledge is achieved or to what degree. Instead, I posit that one can only reasonably *presume* that some form of shared knowledge on matter x is established over time when participants can be seen verbalizing and mutually orienting to their knowledge, as they can be seen doing in the present study. In short, in order to operationalize the notion of shared knowledge, I define it as any overlap of knowledge between participants, evidenced in the public organization of knowledge i.e. expressed interactionally by co-present speakers making an equal epistemic claim to some kind of knowledge. However, with this I do not imply that any overlap in knowledge is *always* necessarily expressed in and through interaction, or sometimes even at all.

Another common thread can be identified in the above-mentioned studies. Many of these scholars take *imaginary* speakers and their conversations as a point of departure (with perhaps the exception of Clark (1996) who engages with the cognitive aspect of establishing 'common ground' in naturally occurring interactions) for discussing the nature and establishment of shared knowledge, or whichever other term they operate with. This means that there is an opportunity for a linguistically and/or interactionally-oriented study, such as the present one, to describe how a group of people can be seen to work towards this idealized state of shared

knowledge through naturally-occurring interactions. This point makes my analytical focus in Part I relevant in that I explore the interactional methods, i.e. the *process*, for working towards some form of presumed shared knowledge.

Having now defined several key theoretical concepts and the role they play in establishing the first analytical framework, I now move on to discussing empirical studies which discuss the challenges introduced by transient teams and the role of a lack of shared knowledge in institutional settings.

5.3. Transience, knowledge asymmetries, and workplaces

This section positions this study in the small body of literature that has empirically investigated the interplay between transient team configurations and knowledge asymmetries that result from this. This body of literature specifically concerns operation theatres, which can be transient due to frequently changing configurations of medical teams performing surgeries. While operation theatres are dissimilar to the studied setting in this thesis, they are nevertheless comparable with regards to the impact of knowledge asymmetries in a transient institutional setting.

The following three empirical studies discuss the consequence of knowledge asymmetries on the performance of transient surgical teams, and potentially on patient safety. In other words, lack of shared knowledge in transient teams can be taken to have real life implications. These studies differ in their focus to the present study in that they seek to explore the consequences of transient teams, rather than the ways in which these teams address knowledge asymmetries. However, drawing from three different data types, they all emphasize the importance of making an interactional effort to establish shared knowledge in the context of transient workplaces. As a result, these studies provide relevant empirical contextualization for the present study.

Bezemer et al. (2016) study 'transient teams' in a London hospital from a multimodal perspective, employing interactional and ethnographic data. They define transient teams as ones where participants "step in and out of newly formed, transient teams and frequently work with people they have not met before" (Bezemer et al., 2016, p. 362). The authors argue that conditions of transience, i.e. daily reconfigurations of medical staff, create a work environment where medical staff can no longer expect shared ways of conducting even the most basic of actions – the passing of instruments from nurses to surgeons. While the emphasis here is on bodily behavior, the act of passing instruments is framed as an embodied skill that nurses need to have as part of their professional knowledge.

The study presents multimodal analyses of two examples entailing one specific nurse who participates in two transient medical teams and attempts to pass surgical instruments to two different surgeons during two different procedures. The authors report that while the nurse had worked in operation theatres previously, she had done so in another country where instruments were referred to differently, at least according to the nurse. Furthermore, she is said to have limited experience with the two surgeons in question, which she does not metacommunicate in the moment, alongside the surgeons being unaware of the nurse's limited experience. The combination of these factors is said to result in the two examples presented in the study.

In both examples, the nurse requests clarification, which is taken up differently by the two surgeons. In the first example, the surgeon provides a "learning opportunity" (Bezemer et al., 2016, pp. 366-367) in response to the clarification, thereby momentarily reframing the medical activity into an educational one, which the authors see as a way of facilitating their future teamwork. This interactional move is in line with the phenomenon I refer to as 'conversational teaching' and explore in the analytical Section 6.2. In the second example, the surgeon displays irritation with the nurse's clarification and treats it as a disruption rather than an opportunity for learning. I would argue that the nurse is not a true novice in the operation theatre, but rather asymmetrically positioned relative to the surgeons with regards to knowledge of terms for surgical tools in the specific context of a London hospital. The examples highlight the relevance of awareness from both participants about the unequally distributed knowledge resources which they bring into the setting.

Indeed, in order to facilitate working in conditions of changing configurations of medical teams, Bezemer et al. conclude that there is a need for staff to treat the teams they come to work in as both medical and learning environments for everyone involved. In other words, they explicitly call for raising awareness around the impact of transient teams and the need to make interactional efforts to counterbalance this impact, or what I have framed in this study as working towards a shared body of knowledge in conditions of transience.

The challenges of making explicit what one does or does not know is discussed in Finn and Waring's (2006) purely ethnographic study of an operation theatre. The authors claim that "tacit knowledge" (2006, p. 118) is vital to the effectiveness of a medical team. Tacit knowledge is said to encompass experiences of working together in the same team and the practices that have emerged from this, all of which is by nature difficult to articulate as it requires awareness of the tacit nature of this embodied knowledge. Furthermore, the authors argue that developing tacit knowledge is undermined by workload

requirements which create instability and 'transient teams' (2006, p. 120). Similarly to Bezemer et al. (2016), the authors describe a complex rotation of medical teams which are continuously broken up due to staffing demands and result in new compositions of knowledge in a new team. The authors theorize that since each new team goes through the process of establishing their shared tacit knowledge anew, team performance can thereby be challenged and potentially even have consequences for patient safety. I would argue that establishing shared knowledge and shared ways of working together takes time, and can therefore take attention away from the task at hand, which in the case of medical teams entails taking attention away from patients.

In conclusion, Finn and Waring call for understanding the relevance of tacit knowledge and stability of teams in medical settings, as well as promoting practices which empower medical staff to deal with the impact of transience. Without clear ideas about who knows what and without a shared history of working together, team members may also not be aware of what needs to be made explicit during operations. As a result, there is potential for further misguided assumptions about (lack of) shared knowledge resources, as well as problems with mutual understanding and co-ordination of actions (Finn & Waring, 2006, p. 122).

The third study, by Gillespie et al. (2010), draws exclusively from interview data with operation theatre staff who have "limited opportunities to meet and form regimens of shared practice and knowledge" (Gillespie et al., 2010, p. 736) as a result of their "interchanging team membership" (Gillespie et al., 2010, p. 736) and interdisciplinary specialized stocks of knowledge. The authors underscore the need for shared practices and knowledge among operation theatre staff, based on the reported issues with lack of shared knowledge as experienced by medical staff. At the same time, the interviewed staff members also report on cases where they were able to strategize on the spot to overcome the lack of shared history of working together. Unfortunately, these strategies are not described in any detail in the study.

Rather than problematize the working conditions in 'interchanging team' constellations, the authors further a more proactive line of argument, calling for educating staff on more effective communication, i.e. checking and confirming information during an operation, as well as pre- and post-surgery briefings among team members. This should, from the authors' perspective, address the issue of over-relying on tacit knowledge obtained in previous team constellations where the practices may have become "historically entrenched" (Gillespie et al., 2010, p. 737) or established to cater to individual staff members' (e.g. surgeons) preferences. This third study is one more which points to the need for explicit

interactional effort in transient teams in order to determine what is known or not known among team members, and thereby successfully go about shared tasks.

These three studies complement each other in useful ways in terms of data types, but they also conclude on a very similar point – the need for interactional effort in conditions of transience. First, Gillespie et al. theorize that checking and confirming practices could be the solution for participants in transient scenarios to work towards and identify existing shared knowledge. Bezemer et al. show how this plays out sequentially, while Finn and Waring problematize what the consequences can be when this interactional effort is not made. The point where these three studies conclude is where the present study picks up the thread and moves forward.

These interactional methods, which transient medical settings seem to require in order for the participants to identify the extent of their shared knowledge and to attend to their shared tasks, are precisely what Part I of this dissertation explores. The present study therefore not only extends the range of transient institutional settings that have been studied from the perspective of lack of shared knowledge, it also contributes more systematically in terms of what are some of these interactional efforts that participants can be seen making to address knowledge asymmetries in a workplace, and thereby (presumably) work towards a shared body of knowledge.

Conversation Analytic studies of epistemic phenomena have paved some of the way towards demonstrating how knowledge asymmetries are addressed in and through interaction in various settings. These studies, and the concepts they use, are central to carrying out the analyses in Chapter 6. With this in mind, in the next section I define these epistemic concepts, which I later apply in my analyses.

5.4. Epistemics in talk

Studies of epistemic phenomena within Conversation Analysis (CA) emerged almost two decades ago and began to proliferate in the last decade[21]. These studies have provided a wealth of insight into the interactive, normative, and moral aspects of knowledge in interaction, which makes this a highly relevant body of literature for the present study. Co-interactants have been shown to interactively indicate what they

[21] In fact, epistemics has already been subject to heated debate among CA scholars, as evidenced in two dedicated special issues in the journal of Discourse Studies (vol. 18 in 2016, and vol. 20 in 2018). At the heart of this debate is the question, in broad terms, whether epistemics is a ubiquitous concern in social interactions. It is beyond the scope and interest of the present study to comment on this debate, as these do not concern the central concepts within epistemics which I operationalize in my analyses.

do and do not know, what they assume others to know or not know, how speakers dynamically navigate knowledge asymmetries, as well as distribute rights and obligations to express, claim, and contest access to knowledge. In other words, the CA studies of epistemics have traced "how the knowledge states of the participants are rendered visible and thus reflected in the sequential structures of turns at talk" (Lee & Hellermann, 2014, p. 769, drawing from Heritage, 2012a, 2012b).

Epistemics in interaction has most prominently been fleshed out by John Heritage, who has consistently demonstrated how participants' utterances reveal their assumptions about other speakers' knowledge states. In fact, Heritage argues that this monitoring of knowledge states is one key principal of sequential organization (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; see also Goodwin, 1979, 1981; Mondada, 2011; Stivers et al., 2011; Terasaki, 2004; Sidnell, 2012). However, it was already Goodwin (1979, 1981) who described the connection between turn design and speakers' orientations to co-interactants' as either knowledgeable or not. In other words, speakers implicitly monitor the distribution of knowledge among co-interactants, and formulate their utterances to reflect their assessments of knowledge states, of their own as well as of their co-interactants (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). For instance, speakers can formulate an utterance in a way that indicates both their own limited knowledge on the matter and simultaneously positions a co-speaker as knowledgeable.

Heritage has proposed a number of concepts for describing epistemic phenomena in talk. The following are the concepts which I apply in my analyses in Chapter 6. Epistemic status is the most fundamental concept. It concerns the relative distribution of knowledge among speakers. Epistemic status is determined by the participants on the basis of their assumptions and claims to knowledge *relative* to one another and towards a specific domain of knowledge (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2013; Heritage & Raymond 2005; Mondada, 2013). As one basic example, a speaker talking about the food in a restaurant can be taken as a claim to knowledge about the food in that restaurant, which simultaneously attributes a *relatively lower* epistemic status to a co-interactant because s/he is assumed to not know about the food in the restaurant and thus being told about it. If, however, the co-interactant expresses that s/he has been a regular at that restaurant, the second speaker establishes a *relatively higher* epistemic status than the first speaker, and thus gains greater rights to articulating knowledge about the restaurant food. In this sense, epistemic status is an all-encompassing term and embraces, "what is known, how it is known (through what method, with what degree of definiteness, certainty, recency, etc.) and persons' rights, responsibilities and obligations to know it" (Heritage, 2013, p. 558). In conceptual terms, epistemic status entails expressions of knowing (epistemic stance), the degree of knowing (epistemic access), and rights to knowing

and articulating domains of knowledge (epistemic authority). These concepts I explicate further below.

Epistemic status is only visible through epistemic stance-marking in turns-at-talk. Epistemic stance is therefore an expression of epistemic status on a moment-by-moment basis, demonstrating a greater or lesser degree of access to some kind of knowledge (Heritage 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2013; Mondada, 2013). In fact, what determines epistemic status is epistemic access.

Epistemic access (Heritage, 2012a; Heritage & Raymond, 2012) is not defined as an inherent quality of speakers as more or less knowledgeable. Instead, epistemic access is jointly determined by and relative to co-present speakers through their ongoing talk. Put differently, while interactants can make a claim to the same knowledge (through epistemic stance marking), their access to the same domain of knowledge is likely to be a matter of degree and dependent on speakers' joint recognition of rights to that domain of knowledge. The example made previously illustrates differences in epistemic access most clearly. The regular at the restaurant reveals him/herself to have greater epistemic access than the first-time visitor, which s/he chose to express by marking themselves as a regular (epistemic stance marking). From an analyst's point of view then, we can argue that the regular visitor displays a *relatively higher* epistemic status than the first-time visitor to the restaurant.

This example makes relevant the fourth and final concept which is epistemic authority (Kamio, 1997; Raymond & Heritage, 2006; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Mondada, 2013; Stivers et al. 2011). This entails both who has the right to make knowledge claims and who is obligated to know. For instance, a doctor is obligated to know relevant medical explanations and can therefore be held accountable, while the same does not extend to the patient. Similarly, a patient has the right to know and articulate his or her medical history, but a doctor only has secondary rights to articulate this knowledge because the patient's medical history would concern a personal knowledge domain (Kamio, 1997; Pomerantz, 1980; Raymond & Heritage, 2006; Labov & Fanshel, 1977). Epistemic authority can therefore be tied to speakers' identity categories (Raymond & Heritage, 2006). However, epistemic authority is not a fixed speaker attribute, but an ongoing situated accomplishment and subject to challenge from co-interactants.

Having now accounted for the central analytical concepts within epistemics, I move on to the body of literature which have investigated epistemic change, or managing of knowledge asymmetries over time.

5.4.1. Epistemic change

In this section I discuss empirical studies of how participants interactionally minimize knowledge asymmetries over time. Crucially, these studies concern novices to a

social setting or to a particular practice. This body of literature is currently rather small, given the only very recent emergence of longitudinal CA studies. I discuss these studies very briefly first due to the partial overlap in analytical interests.

CA scholars have only recently started to investigate the practices of "not-yet-competent members" (Schegloff, 1989), which makes for less 'stable' phenomena as objects of analytical inquiry[22]. This interest has emerged specifically with respect to second language learning and developing interactional competence more broadly. For example, studies have focused on observable changes in ways of carrying out the same practice over time: the development of a child making requests (Wootton, 1997), openings in phone conversations made by L2 speakers in a professional setting (Brouwer & Wagner, 2004), advice-giving by an apprentice pharmacist (Nguyen, 2011), storytelling practices of an L2 speaker during dinner (Berger & Pekarek Doehler, 2018), and many more (see overview by Pekarek Doehler, Wagner, & González-Martinez, 2018; Skogmyr Marian & Balaman, 2018)

Essentially, these studies demonstrate empirical evidence of how individuals acquire over time various kinds of knowledge on how to accomplish certain new interactional moves or speak in pragmatically meaningful ways in an L2. In this sense, there is convergence between these studies and this study's focus on working towards a shared body of knowledge as both implicit deal with the process of acquiring some kind of knowledge over time. However, one crucial difference is key and concerns differences in what is the object of analysis. In this study it is not the acquisition of a particular practice or how it changes over time that is central. Instead, I seek to *identify* practices, ones which can be taken to mitigate knowledge asymmetries over time, rather than proving that some type of knowledge has indeed been acquired, which is what existing CA longitudinal studies tend to focus on at present.

And yet, the literature which I discuss in this section take the same approach to CA longitudinal studies and home in on how practices change over time. However, they are the only longitudinal studies which emphasize a change in epistemic states over time. My interest in these empirical works is in the interactional practices which they mention in their analyses and which I aim to draw out in this literature review. The first two studies concern the trajectories of novices relative to more knowledgeable co-interactants. These studies demonstrate the transformation of interactional patterns over time between two speakers. The third

[22] CA scholars study collections of comparable sequences of the same interactional phenomenon, but investigating phenomena which changes over time raises issues with collection-building (Wagner et al., 2018, pp. 8, 20-28; Skogmyr Marian & Balaman, 2018, p. 4). I have addressed my approach to these issues in Section 5.1.

study illustrates how a novice acquires the knowledge needed to replicate the practices of a pre-existing team.

First, Piirainen-Marsh and Tainio (2014) study two pre-adolescent boys playing one video game over the course of two years. One of the boys (henceforth Boy 1) owns the game and displays considerably higher epistemic access (that is, more knowledge) with respect to the game and its various functions than the other boy (henceforth Boy 2) at the beginning of the two years. The authors focus on their longitudinal management of knowledge asymmetries, which leads Boy 2 to display gained epistemic access over time. The latter is evidenced in his independent reasoning of the game's tasks, fluency in using the game controller for specific actions, and in giving instructions to Boy 1.

Relevant to the research focus in the present study, the authors' mention that knowledge asymmetries are addressed through the novice player (Boy 2) indicating trouble and asking questions, which the authors claim allows him to gain the same or equal epistemic status as Boy 1 over time. Furthermore, it is through their ongoing joint problem-solving around issues that arise in the game that the two boys can be seen levelling their initial knowledge asymmetry and co-constructing, what I would call, a shared body of knowledge around the workings of the game over time. In short, the first study suggests that indicating trouble, asking questions, and joint problem-solving sequences are relevant interactional methods for mitigating knowledge asymmetries over time.

Another CA study demonstrates a similar process of epistemic change. Siegel (2013) investigates changing expressions of language learner identity through epistemic stance marking (that is, through the way utterances are formulated) by a pair of L2 learners of English at an international Japanese university. Siegel's data comprises informal interactions between two university students over the course of almost two years. The author describes how the one student, Ami, utilizes word searches and requests for repair, which Siegel interprets as indications of her lower epistemic status with respect to English vocabulary, while simultaneously positioning the other student, Hang, as the one with higher epistemic status. Over time, this dynamic is shown to change as Ami displays gained epistemic access in English vocabulary through the way she formulates her utterances, no longer positioning Hang as the speaker with a higher epistemic status. This change is taken as evidence of the leveling of knowledge asymmetry around English vocabulary between the two students. On the basis of this second study, I identified word searches and requests for repair as relevant interactional methods.

The third, and final, study is by Vickers' (2007) who draws from ethnographic and interactional data, employing both qualitative and quantitative tools to show the change in communicative competence of a new member (Ramelan) in a team of

engineering students with different areas of expertise. Vickers homes in on how Ramelan asks more technical content questions at the start of the academic year and significantly less by the end of the academic year. His questions at the start of the year are met with technical explanations from fellow team members. Vickers argues on the basis of ethnographic data that producing technical explanations is a sign of being 'a core member' of the team. By the end of the academic year, however, the author shows how Ramelan has started to produce a significant number of technical explanations himself, in place of asking questions, thus making him a core member as well. In other words, Vickers' study describes the process of socializing Ramelan into the team's shared body of knowledge over time, with questions and explanations as key methods in this process.

To summarize the relevant interactional moves which can be seen to mitigate knowledge asymmetries over time, participants can employ asking questions (Piirainen-Marsh & Tainio, 2014; Vickers, 2007), self-initiating repair or word searches (Siegel, 2013), and producing explanations or answers to questions (all three studies). While these studies provide some insight into how participants can manage knowledge asymmetries over time in *informal settings*, the present study investigates an *institutional setting*, which can be different in the way that epistemic concerns play a role in them on an interactional level (cf. Section 3.2.1.1). The following, final section is dedicated to this very topic.

5.5. Institutional talk, participation framework and epistemics

In this section, I define and discuss how epistemics can play a role in what has been called 'institutional talk' within CA. This entails understanding how institutional talk is different from informal talk and the ways in which this can be analyzed to reveal the presence of knowledge asymmetries. Previously, in Section 3.2.1.1, I explained CA analyses of institutional talk, while in this section I expand on that section by relating the notion of institutional talk to CA studies of epistemics.

To briefly summarize, institutional talk is seen as distinct from informal talk as it is characterized by goal-orientation, specialized interactional patterns, and discursive practices which are tied to interactionally established institutional roles that entail asymmetrical rights to speaking and initiating action (Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage & Clayman, 2010; Arminen, 2005; Heritage, 1987, 1988, 2013; Hazel & Mortensen, 2014; Schegloff, 1992). In other words, institutional talk is not institutional due to a physical environment, but there is a certain degree of *a priori* labelling present on behalf of CA analysts of institutional talk. However, the actual "institutional order" (Heritage, 2013, p. 3) of how institutions are carried out in everyday talk is not

imposed by the analyst as this is instead the very object of analysis – what sort of practices underpin a given institution, how are these practices tied to institution-relevant roles (such as doctor-patient), and how do participants embody institutions through role-specific actions and orientations to asymmetrical participation rights etc. It is by analyzing the properties of institutional talk that one gains an understanding of the local normative order of how institutions are socially organized.

One highly relevant starting point for understanding the social organization of institutional talk, and indeed verifying the institutional mooring of an interaction (Schegloff, 1992; Heritage, 1998), is in the opening of interactions – how participants move into focused interaction (Hazel & Mortensen, 2014)[23]. The social organization that emerges from these openings has been referred to as 'participation framework' (Goffman, 1981, p. 137). In this study I define participation framework following Goodwin and Goodwin (1992) who propose that how participants interact with one another is reflexively co-constructed on a moment-to-moment basis using various semiotic resources (e.g. utterances, body movements, material objects). It is in this way that the institutional nature of an interaction is revealed and entails the emergent establishment of speakers' institutional roles, rights, and obligations to action, as well as the interactional goal at hand. In contrast, Goffman's original definition comes with a pre-defined typology according to which speakers can be categorized. In this case I agree with Goodwin and Goodwin's (1992) critique that Goffman's version of participation framework does not provide the analytical toolkit for investigating the *dynamic* organization of practices as it unfolds over time. As a result, I take my cue in analyzing the emergence of participation frameworks from studies such as Goodwin (2007).

CA studies of institutional talk have shown that in establishing participation frameworks, speakers also take into consideration their perception of the distribution of knowledge (epistemic status), including rights and obligations to know (epistemic authority) (Ariss, 2009; Clifton, 2014; Drew, 1991; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Mondada, 2011; Raymond & Heritage, 2006; Stivers et al., 2011). This is because institutional encounters entail participants who are expected to display specialized knowledge (doctors, service providers etc.) and those who are not expected to know (patients, students etc.), or simply are not able to know due to their lack of training. In other words, institutional identity categories come to be locally and normatively attributed with epistemic status (e.g. specialized knowledge not shared by co-interactants) and authority (the right and obligation to articulate said knowledge)

[23] Identifying the participation framework is not limited to openings, as participation frameworks can be dynamic or get reconfigured in the course of an interaction (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 14). For instance, participant perceived transgressions are another important site for understanding the normative order of an institutional activity (Heritage, 2013).

(Drew, 1991; Mondada, 2011; Clifton, 2014; Raymond & Heritage, 2006)[24]. As a result, knowledge asymmetries, among other kinds of asymmetries, come to form an inherent part of institutional participation frameworks.

In this study, I delimit my interest to the establishment and enactment of institutional roles and role-specific practices as part of an emerging participation framework. This can be done by paying attention to participants' rights to specific kinds of turn-taking (e.g. who can ask questions, who is expected to answer) which can reveal the institutional order of the encounter (Heritage, 2013, p. 7). However, although labels such as doctor, lawyer etc. can be seen as *institutional roles*, these can also intersect with *situational* institutional roles such as meeting facilitator, note-taker etc. (Heritage, 2013, p. 10). Both of these are of interest in this study.

Alongside the above, I focus on how knowledge asymmetries are interactionally occasioned and demonstrably treated as relevant to an interaction, i.e. "exploited and thematized" (Linell & Luckmann, 1991, p. 5), together with the implications this has on how institutional and situational roles are established. Knowledge asymmetries can be identified on the basis of speakers initiating or (self-) constraining action (e.g. (not) making suggestions or reprimanding another speaker), correcting another (providing specialized explanations) or in other ways claiming certain roles or rights which imply or require a particular epistemic status (Stivers et al., 2011; Drew, 1991; Clifton, 2014)[25]. In other words, oriented-to knowledge asymmetries can be 'exploited and thematized' to claim and attribute an institutional role together with the interactional moves that come to be normatively associated with these roles (Clifton, 2014; Linell & Luckmann, 1991).

To summarize, in this chapter I outlined my analytical process, explained relevant theoretical concepts, and discussed empirical studies that pertain to the first analytical theme in this thesis. The next chapter launches the first analytical section focused around interactional data.

[24] While there is a certain level of stability to epistemic status (incl. authority) and institutional roles, these are not static features, as epistemic status can be negotiated on a moment-by-moment basis through epistemic stance marking when co-present speakers also display relevant knowledge (cf. Mondada, 2011, 2013).

[25] Linell and Luckmann (1991) and Drew (1991) stress that there is no correlation between interactional control and institutional identity-bound epistemic status or authority, as even participants treated with a lower relative epistemic status or authority can gain and claim interactional control.

6

6. Interactional methods for working towards a shared body of knowledge

In this analytical chapter, I seek to answer the first research question: *how can the participants be seen to work towards a shared body of knowledge?* My interest is specifically in the interactional moves, some more explicit than others, that the participants can be seen employing in the process of addressing knowledge asymmetries and thereby working towards a (presumed) shared body of knowledge.

Given that this is the first analytical chapter in this thesis, I provide a brief recap of what is at stake in this project visit, based on the ethnographic description in Chapter 4. This recap only functions as a reminder as in my analyses of the data I only take into consideration what is warranted by the participants ongoing talk, staying true to the emic principle of CA (see Section 3.2.1.1).

This project visit was organized so that two institutional tasks can be attended to – monitoring an ongoing project, which the Nordic Solidarity volunteers had not been a part of before, and formulating a new project, which would be split into two different donor applications. Table 2 in Section 5.1 before gave an overview of the various meetings which take place in accomplishing these tasks and which I analyze in the present chapter. There are six participants in this data. Three Nordic volunteers - Ditte, who had been to Swaziland before as an apprentice carrying out unrelated tasks to the present project visit, and Liv and Martha, who were both relatively new at the time and had never been on a project visit before. There are also three Swazi Democracy staff members in the data who had all been exposed to project monitoring, developing new projects, and writing donor applications several times before. This is because Nordic Solidarity and Swazi Democracy had been partners for almost a decade at the time of this project visit, and the staff members had worked with several delegations from Nordic Solidarity previously.

With this as the backdrop, my point of departure is first to understand the distribution of roles and role-specific practices during various meetings that make up this project visit, and the ways in which this intersects with an emerging epistemic order (Section 6.1). In doing so, I am also able to describe the general interactional features of how this project visit comes to be socially organized through various meetings. This provides an important backbone to the analyses provided in Part II as

well.

More importantly, analyzing the role distribution allows me to highlight the first discursive practice that emerges - Nordic volunteers' sequence openers such as questions and other prompts - and which can be linked to minimizing oriented-to knowledge asymmetries. In fact, the vast majority of the interactional data is characterized by the volunteers opening sequences by seeking input and the Swazi partners providing this input. While this distribution of roles and role-specific practices can be taken as an embodiment of the locally established institutional order, I argue that there is also a further, implicit function at play – that of Nordic volunteers acquiring relevant knowledge to incorporate Swazi partners' perspective in the reports and applications. In other words, working towards a shared body of knowledge with the Swazi partners.

The input which the Swazi partners (mainly Musa) provide also seems to contribute to this implicit goal. In the second analytical section in this chapter, Section 6.2, I demonstrate how Musa displays a continuous orientation towards the Nordic volunteers as co-interactants with lower epistemic status. This is evidenced in 'conversational teaching' (to be explained in Section 6.2.1) sequences which interactionally construct the volunteers as learners and Musa as the situationally (self) chosen teacher. Musa's conversational teaching can be taken as an explicit effort to work towards a shared body of knowledge in the context transience, which aligns with findings from studies of transient teams in operation theaters (Section 5.3).

6.1. Institutional roles, emergent discursive practices, and epistemics

The main aim of this section is to explore the emergence of the discursive practice where Nordic volunteers come to elicit responses through various questions, suggestions etc. This I treat as one relevant interactional method for working towards a shared body of knowledge. In conceptual terms, I am interested in the 'first pair part' in an adjacency pair (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007), which summons a 'second pair part', that is, an appropriate response to the first pair part. This adjacency pair of elicitation-response moves forward the agreed-upon institutional tasks for the analyzed meetings, whether that is monitoring an ongoing project or brainstorming around a new project. The data shows that elicitations are predominantly carried out by the Nordic Solidarity volunteers. It is them who take on the practice of seeking information, ideas, details etc., the answers to which they then entextualize into templates or notes. This distribution of roles and role-specific practices can be seen to emerge as part of the institutional participation frameworks established at the beginning of the meetings, and which are maintained throughout the meetings' duration. My observation is that this participation framework is underpinned by oriented-to epistemic statuses which condition who comes to elicit responses and who responds to these with input. Thus, in order to understand how elicitations produced by Nordic volunteers emerge as a relevant interactional method for working towards a shared body of knowledge, it is important to understand how institutional roles together with role-specific practices are in this case talked into being with regards to epistemic orientations. To this end, the analyses which I carry out in this section address both how institutional roles are talked into being and how these are tied to orientations to knowledge asymmetries. It is in the process of these analyses that I draw out how various elicitations can serve both institutional as well as knowledge-gathering purposes.

Before I launch the analyses, a note on the categories which I use to describe the participants and their emergent roles is in order. 'Nordic volunteers' and 'Swazi partners' or 'staff members' are etic categories which I use to refer to the participants based on their organizational affiliations. In the analyses to follow, I explore emically established categories, or roles. Some of these may index the institutionality of the encounter, such as 'political strategist', while others may emphasize a situationally relevant institutional role, e.g. 'meeting facilitator'. Since my interest is not in teasing out these differences – institutional vs situational roles which can an institutional goal – I refer to my observations on role distribution interchangeably as 'institutional role' or simply 'role'.

Overarchingly, there is little variation in the kinds of institutional roles and role-specific practices which emerge in the analyzed meetings. The variation that does

exist has been taken into consideration in my choice of relevant extracts for this section. For this reason, I analyze the openings of three meetings specifically, organized chronologically - the monitoring meeting (Day 1), brainstorming meeting (Day 3), and text production 2 meeting (Day 4) – which are the first instances of these types of meetings. I find it relevant to present the data chronologically in this section to show that even as time goes on, and as more knowledge may come to be shared, this does not have any impact on the participation frameworks that are talked into being. Finally, since the data that I have had the privilege of working with is enormously rich, for space considerations, I only provide selective analyses of aspects of the interactions which I consider relevant to my argument.

6.1.1. Attributing institutional roles and epistemic status in the first meeting

The monitoring meeting on Day 1 is the first meeting between the six core participants that figure in the data, but the second meeting of the day as the morning hours were dedicated to a board meeting with 14 participants. In the present meeting, the Nordic volunteers and the Swazi partners have sat down to attend to the evaluation report about the progress of the ongoing project. This meeting also constitutes their first time to carry out a task together.

To analyze how institutional roles emerge in this meeting and how these can be seen to be tied to oriented-to knowledge asymmetries, I focus on the beginning of this meeting which pans out over several minutes. I first describe what leads up to Transcript 1 in order to then analyze how the interaction moves from “unfocused to focused interaction” (Mortensen & Hazel, 2014, p. 46) through one participant (Musa, the strategic leader of Swazi Democracy) projecting an institutional role onto another participant (Ditte, the most “experienced” Nordic volunteer) with a simple non-verbal gesture – a turn of the head towards the other participant. Throughout my analyses I argue that with participants directing questions about how to proceed with the meeting, they can be seen projecting a potential institutional order whereby Ditte is treated as a speaker with a particular institutional role and epistemic status (cf. Hazel & Mortensen, 2013; Hazel, 2015). At the same time, other speakers also make a claim to make decisions about next steps.

Leading up to Transcript 1, the participants enter a room and sit down around a large table. Once seated, Ditte starts to converse with Musa and Lucky about the local Swazi coins she has with her from her previous trip to Swaziland, but which apparently are no longer accepted as valid currency. Some of the participants join in on this discussion and make jokes around it. Transcript 1 begins once the joking is concluded.

Figure 2: Monitoring meeting 1, establishing institutional roles

Transcript 1[26]

8		(4.3)
9	%com:	Musa gazes at Ditte; Ditte looks through her notes;
10		towards the end of the pause, Ditte looks at the
11		partner visit programme in front of Musa
12	*DIT:	mm (0.6) so I think we switched
13	%com:	at turn end, Ditte moves her hand to point to something
14		on the programme, Musa follows Ditte's moving hand
15	*	those two a little bit today [( )]
16	*MUS:	[yeah]
17	*DIT:	that's the Thursday right
18		(2.9)
19	%com:	Musa and Ditte keep looking at the programme
20	*MUS:	so now we are supposed to deal with what now
21		we are supposed to deal with project pro[posal]
22	*DIT:	[yeah]
23	*MUS:	mo:re (0.3) detailed
24	%com:	Musa looks to Ditte, who leans
25		back and looks at Liv sitting across from her
26	*DIT:	more [deta]iled and
27	%com:	Musa looks in the distance away from Ditte
28	*LIV:	[yeah]

[26] Unless explicitly stated otherwise, in all transcripts, multimodal descriptions are marked in grey and should be read as occurring at the same time as the utterance above it. I account for my transcription style in Section 3.3.4.

```
29    *DIT:   yeah (0.5) we need to finish:: (0.6)
30    %com:   during last pause, Musa looks back to Ditte
31    *       the status report while we're here so (0.6)
32    %com:   at 'while' Ditte looks to Musa
33    *       do the (0.5) evaluation as well (1.1)
34    %com:   during first pause, Ditte looks towards Martha
35    *       but maybe (1.4)
36            yeah maybe we should start (1.9)
37    %com:   at turn start, Ditte looks at the programme
38    *       I don't know do we have any more comments on the
39            programme
40    %com:   at turn end, Ditte looks to Musa
41    *MUS:   tyeah
42    %com:   Musa simultaneously brushes away the air with his hand,
43            looks down at the table, shakes his head briefly
```

First there is a pause in the interaction during which Musa (MUS) gazes at Ditte (DIT) for 4.3 seconds (lines 8-11, see also Figure 1 which captures this moment) which potentially nominates Ditte as the next speaker, if not as the meeting facilitator. This gesture also indicates that Musa refrains from taking an active role in that moment. Indeed, in line 12, Ditte takes the floor, addressing an issue with the agenda for the day. The unfolding interaction, and especially Musa's clarifying question about the immediate goal of the meeting in lines 20-21 supports the interpretation that, in lines 8-11, Musa can be seen treating Ditte as the facilitator of the meeting and thereby attributing the epistemic status of knowing what to do next to Ditte. Ditte seems to accept the assigned role as she lists the things they need to do (29-33) and attempts to figure out the next immediate step (35-36), with no other participant taking over. This latter point indicates an alignment with supporting Ditte as the appropriately knowledgable participant to take on this role. However, Ditte's 'I don't know' (38) displays a lower epistemic status than she is attributed, which reveals the confusion and doubt that begins to unravel in the following minutes around launching this meeting.

Nevertheless, with the brief head movement produced by Musa (lines 9-11), the institutional nature of the interaction is made visible. Mortensen and Hazel (2014) describe a similar instance between a help desk staff member and an approaching student in a university context. The authors describe how the help desk staff member gazes "from early on" (Mortensen & Hazel, 2014, p. 51) at an approaching student. Once the student is close enough to the counter, the student meets the staff member's gaze and first greetings are exchanged. On the basis of this example, and other variations of these interactional openings, Mortensen and Hazel argue that the participants' embodied action indexes the institutional nature of the activity. The institutionality is reflected in the participants projecting and orienting to institutional roles "such as 'staff member' and 'information seeker'" (Mortensen & Hazel, 2014, p. 52) and role-specific practices where one participant seeks information that the other one can provide.

After the extract in Transcript 1, the participants discuss the agenda for the weekend, as this meeting takes place on a Friday afternoon. The interaction continues (Transcript 1-2) with Ditte beginning to formulate a suggestion for what to focus on first (82, 85), but she is interrupted by Lucky (86) (LUC; Swazi Democracy's activist coordinator).

Transcript 1-2

```
82    *DIT:   so maybe (0.8) we should just
83    (1.0)
84    %com:   Ditte looks at the programme then towards Liv
85    *DIT:   [(       )]
86    *LUC:   [(       )]
87    %com:   Ditte looks towards Lucky who meets her gaze
88    *DIT:   yeah
89    *LUC:   are we part of the team tomorrow
90    (0.7)
91    *MUS:   no
92    *LUC:   no↗
93    *DIT:   no
94    %com:   Ditte shakes her head
95    *LUC:   no: okay
96    %com:   at turn end, Lucky turns his head and looks down,
97            Ditte continues to look at Ditte; meanwhile, Musa
98            looks at Ditte
99    *MUS:   is it not possible Ditte too:: (1.3)
100   %com:   upon her name, Ditte looks to Musa, who points to
101           the programme in front of him
102   *MUS:   while we are dealing with the details of the project
103           it also helps us: (1.1) to put some down something fo:r
104   %com:   at 'down' Musa looks to Ditte and maintains eye contact
105           going forward
106   *       the Donor Green report
107   *DIT:   yeah [mhm    ]
108   %com:   Ditte nods
109   *LIV:        [exactly]
110   *DIT:   yeah
111   *LIV:   yeah
112   *MUS:   so we kill two birds with
113   %com:   Ditte smiles at 'birds'
114   *DIT:   £I think so£
115   *LIV:   yeah
116   *MUS:   with £one st[one£ ]
117   *DIT:                [yeah ]
118   *MUS:   [£as they say£] [he he he      ]
119   %com:   at turn start, Musa smiles and looks towards Liv who
120           meets his gaze; Ditte continues to look at Musa
```

```
121   *DIT:   [that would be] [really good   ]
122   *LIV:                   [£yeah exactly£]
123   *MUS:   yeah let's hit it let's it then ((enthusiastically))
124   %com:   Musa meets Ditte's gaze and waves once with his hand;
125           Ditte then reaches for the coffee on the table
126   *DIT:   let's hit it then ((much less enthusiastically))
127   *MUS:   and see how far we can go
128   %com:   Musa continues to look at Ditte
129   *DIT:   mhm ((while drinking))
130   *LIV:   should we go by like from the activity (0.3)
131   %com:   Liv looks to Ditte, who meets Liv's gaze
132   *       or the project report
133   *DIT:   or maybe more the (0.3) objectives
134   %com:   Ditte meets Musa's gaze at 'objectives'
135   *MUS:   yeah
```

Lucky poses a question to Ditte (89) which Musa answers first (91). Lucky does not accept the response, but asks 'no' again with rising intonation (92) and maintains eye contact with Ditte. By seeking a confirmation from Ditte, he is putting her forward as the participant with the epistemic status (potentially also with the authority) to answer his question. Ditte provides a confirmation (93), after which Musa then takes the floor and makes a first suggestion for how to proceed (99, 102-103, 106), directing the question to Ditte. His suggestion is met with acceptance and agreement by both Liv (LIV; one of the new Nordic volunteers) and Ditte, all the while Musa explains his suggestion (107-122).

Even as Musa takes charge of the situation by providing a suggestion, Lucky and Musa's orientation to Ditte as the relevant co-interactant to discuss the meeting (and project visit) content with indicates that Ditte is projected as the participant with the institutional role to facilitate the process, which also implies a relevant epistemic status to make these choices. This aligns with studies of epistemics (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b, 2013; Heritage & Clayman, 2010) which show that the choice of who a question is directed at can be taken as indicative of who the questioner assumes to have the relevant knowledge to be able to answer. However, while Ditte is attributed this role and status, Liv and Musa also make a claim to decide how to proceed, thereby revealing their epistemic claims. In the absence of treating these claims as transgressions, there seems to be support for additional speakers besides Ditte to take on the facilitation of the meeting. Musa does so by making a suggestion and then calling for starting the tasks of the meeting (123). This is mirrored by Ditte who produces the same call to action but with much less enthusiasm (124). Furthermore, Liv first claims the right to approve of Musa's idea on how to proceed (111, 122), and then makes a suggestion of her own (130, 132). However, she too directs the question to Ditte as indicated by her gaze direction (131). Rather than align with the role and epistemic status attributed solely to Ditte, Ditte directs a further suggestion at Musa (133) who aligns with it (134). In this sense, Ditte can be seen treating Musa as an additional facilitator.

The analysis of Transcript 1-2 shows how Ditte is most often being oriented to as the relevant participant to attribute the role of meeting facilitator to, together with the epistemic status this implies. However, other co-present speakers, Liv and Musa, also make an equal claim to this institutional role. As a result, the participants work out the next step jointly.

The interaction continues with Musa attempting to locate a physical copy of the evaluation report (transcript not provided). Once this issue is resolved, the discussion continues, but with no less doubt about how to proceed than before, despite the agreement reached in Transcript 1-2. The next extract from this interaction, Transcript 1-3, starts with Martha (MAR; the second new Nordic volunteer) claiming the task of eliciting responses on the basis of the report template.

Figure 3: Monitoring meeting 1, establishing institutional roles continued

Transcript 1-3

```
173   (1.5)
174   %com:   Ditte is looking for the report while being observed
175           by Musa; Nelly has got up to get a copy of the report;
176           Liv is also looking for the report; Martha is looking
177           at her laptop screen; Lucky looks out the window
178   *MAR:   so: if we (look at) objective A
179   (0.7)
180   %com:   Martha looks to Musa; Liv looks to Martha;
181           Ditte continues to look through documents
182   *MUS:   okay↘
183   %com:   Musa looks up to Martha, who looks down at her
184           laptop screen
185   *MAR:   ((reads out loud)) Swazi Democracy and affiliates have
186           increased organisational strength to sustain
187           enhanced internal unity (0.2) and carry out campaigns
188   %com:   Martha meets Musa's gaze at turn end
189   *MUS:   okay↗
190   %com:   Musa nods briefly
191   *(1.4)
192   %com:   Martha looks down at her laptop screen
```

```
193   *MAR:   so (1.0) u::gh ((reads out quietly)) °give an account
194           fr- from° status I guess what's the status of:: (2.3)
195   %com:   at 'status' Martha meets Musa's gaze; during the pause
196           Martha makes a struggling facial expression, then looks
197           to her laptop and then to Ditte; Liv and Musa continue
198           to look towards Martha; Ditte is engaged in her laptop
199           and does not meet Martha's gaze
200   *       that objective [I think eh]
201   %com:   Martha frowns and and continues to look at Ditte
202   *MUS:                  [ee::h     ]
203   *MAR:   or should we just maybe go through the indicators first
204   *LIV:   yeah
205   *MAR:   then uhm we can maybe summarize a bit more (0.6)
206           the objective (1.6) right↗ (2.2) does that make sense↗
207   %com:   Ditte looks up to Martha at the 2.2 sec pause and nods;
208           she then turns to Musa; Musa continues to look at Martha
209           who is looking at Ditte
210   *(1.5)
211   %com:   Musa puts pen to his temple and makes eye contact with Martha
```

In lines 185-187, we see Martha reading out loud the 'objective A'. Her self-selected role in this meeting is an important point in this interaction as it sets the stage for the interactional pattern that characterizes the vast majority of the rest of the meetings. However, having access to the report is a key variable in determining who is able to take on this role and task. At this point in the interaction, Martha, Ditte, Liv, and right before Transcript 1-2, also Musa, have access to the document. All of these participants could in principle take on the task of asking questions on the basis of this report. However, it is Martha who makes a claim to the institutional role of 'elicitor' and thus also the epistemic status implied by access to material resources, such as the laptop and the report document. Within the first few minutes then, there is already an early indication of who will take on the task of eliciting responses on the basis of the report template. What remains is determining who is oriented to as the speaker with a relevant epistemic status and therefore expected to answer as part of Martha's projected institutional order.

In fact, Martha nominates Musa as the participant to respond to her prompt, as evidenced by her gaze directed at Musa (188). That the talk may be directed at Musa is ratified by his engagement with Martha through acknowledgment tokens (182, 189). Martha proceeds to translate the objective into an answerable question (193-194, 200) while making a facial expression that indicates trouble and seeking eye contact with Ditte (196-197). Martha then suggests a new course of action (203, 205-206). It is not until line 207 that Ditte meets Martha's gaze at "right↑". Drake (2015) has argued that a turn-final tag such as 'right' can index one's best guess with some level of certainty on the proposition before it. In other words, Martha can be seen revealing her doubt and therefore relatively lower epistemic status on how to proceed. By gazing at Ditte, Martha can potentially be seen attributing a higher epistemic status to her. Ditte aligns being attributed with this status by confirming the next step with a nod (207). The interaction continues:

Transcript 1-4

```
212   *MUS:   ee::h I'm trying to follow you
213   %com:   Ditte starts to look through her papers again
214   *       you're saying (1.1) the objective is
215           Swazi Democracy has in[creased]
216   *MAR:                        [yeah   ] so the pro- the current
217   %com:   Martha turns to look at her laptop screen
218   *       project there's [(      )]
219   *DIT:                   [yes it's] here
220   %com:   Ditte points to the report, Musa looks down to the report
221   *MAR:   we're here (.) yeah
222   (7.6)
223   %com:   Musa is reading, others are sitting idle
224   *MUS:   so what are we supposed to do then
225           we are supposed to answer these questions
226   %com:   while talking, Musa keeps looking and pointing at the
227           report, while Liv and Martha look at Musa; Ditte is
228           also looking at the report Musa is pointing to;
229           at turn end, Ditte looks at her laptop
230   *DIT:   ee::hm yeah but we have to::
231           elaborate a little bit more on them
232   (0.8)
233   %com:   Ditte looks back to the report again
234   *MUS:   okay
235   %com:   27 seconds not transcribed;
236           Ditte continues to explain while looking at Musa;
237           Musa continues to look at the report; he asks one more
238           clarifying question about the task, which Ditte answers;
239           finally Ditte paraphrases the question and looks
240           at Musa who continues to look at the report:
241   *DIT:   so how does the organisation look like now compared to
242           one year [ago ]
243   *MUS:            [okay] (1.4) I will I will try and comrades
244   %com:   during 'I will' Musa looks very briefly to Ditte and
245           then down at the table when he starts to speak
246   *       you will add (.) I would say ye::s (0.2) Swazi Democracy's
247           strength has (0.4) organisational strength has improved
248   %com:   Musa looks to Martha during 0.4s pause
```

In lines 212-215, Musa expresses lack of understanding around both what is asked and what needs to be done. His continued engagement with the content of Martha's elicitation reinforces the idea that he may be treating this task to be directed at him, as the participant attributed with the relevant institutional role and epistemic status. Despite Martha and Ditte's attempt to explain (216-221), Musa explicitly asks if the task is to "answer these questions" (224-225). In doing so, he also introduces the category of 'we' without specifying who is implied. When Ditte self-selects to take on the task of explaining Martha's initial prompt, she also does not specify who the 'we' is who needs to "elaborate a little bit more" (230-231). Once she has reformulated the objective into a question (235-242), Musa self-selects to take on the task of answering it (243). With his orientation to being the appropriate participant to answer, he can be seen taking on the institutional role of 'responder' and the epistemic status this implies.

However, note that Musa also states that the floor is open for "comrades" to add,

which sheds some light on his use of 'we'. 'Comrades' is an emic term used to refer to allies of the political movement, which would imply that everyone present could in principle respond. In this sense, while it is Musa who takes on the institutional role of someone with the relevant epistemic status to provide input for the evaluation report, he does not claim this task to be exclusively his.

The three transcripts that I have analyzed as part of the same ongoing interaction allow me to argue how emergent institutional roles (meeting facilitator, elicitor, responder) and role-specific practices (facilitating the meeting, eliciting input, responding) come to be tied to epistemic concerns. Central to this is my ongoing point that who elicitations are directed at reveal the participants' emerging orientation to an institutional and epistemic order, one that is best made visible through close attention to the details of the participants' verbal and embodied conduct.

In this case, Ditte is predominantly treated as the meeting facilitator through verbal and non-verbal conduct. She aligns with these moments but also leaves the floor open for others to take on this role (Liv and Musa in particular). Martha takes on the task of eliciting input on the basis of the report, which is a role that also Ditte claims by rephrasing Martha's original prompt. In short, Nordic volunteers take on substantial roles in moving forward the meeting and gathering input for the report. At the same time, Musa is attributed with and aligns with the role and epistemic status of providing this input, but without claiming it as his role exclusively. All of these observations together point to the relevance of epistemics in this interaction and the way in which it ties in with which participant is (perceived to be) able to take on which role and role-specific task. Note for instance how three more participants take no active part in this distribution of roles. Lucky, Nelly, and the researcher (myself) all implicitly take on the role of 'meeting participant' which does not necessarily hinge on a particular epistemic status.

Furthermore, given that it was mutually agreed that in the process of working on the evaluation report, they would also discuss ideas for the new project proposal (Transcript 1-2), seeking input for the report may serve a further, implicit function. More specifically, they can be seen as implicit attempts at establishing a shared body of knowledge, on the basis of which the core participants are able to jointly work out a new project proposal later on in the project visit.

To further substantiate the points thus far, I analyze how the participation framework is similarly established two working days later to launch the meeting for brainstorming around the new project.

6.1.2. Emergent epistemic and institutional order some days later

In the Brainstorming meeting on Day 3, five out of the six participants are present, with Martha missing due to health issues. It is the first time since the first monitoring meeting on Day 1, analyzed above, that the majority of the participants participate in the same meeting. The purpose of this meeting is to brainstorm around ideas for the new project, for which two donor funding applications would be produced later. In this meeting, the interactional roles and role-specific practices are at first assigned relatively explicitly, and aligned with through taking on these assigned roles. However, and similarly to the monitoring meeting, the participants' epistemic orientations have a crucial role to play in who is assigned with what role, and who is in fact able to take on what role. In this section especially, I develop the nuances to my argument as it unfolds across several transcripts.

Leading up to Transcript 2, Ditte and Lucky had been making small talk about Ditte's prior visits to African countries. Ditte laughs at herself, claiming that the last time she met the Swazi staff about a year before, she did not know anything as she had been an apprentice. Liv, the other new Nordic volunteer, interrupts this interaction by asking Ditte about something that is on Liv's laptop screen. When Liv and Ditte conclude their interaction, Ditte self-selects to move from unfocused to focused interaction by outlining the goal of the meeting and thereby claiming the meeting facilitator role, which is where Transcript 2 begins.

Figure 4: Brainstorming meeting, establishing institutional roles

Transcript 2

```
8     %com:   Ditte looks at Musa, Nelly is looking through documents;
9             Liv is looking at her laptop; Lucky looks at Ditte;
10            and Musa is organizing his desk; everyone is seated
11    *DIT:   okay (1.2) so (2.1) when we come home (1.1) we need to:::
12    %com:   Musa meets Ditte's gaze at 'so' and maintains it
13    *       if you agree heh heh £of course£
14            but I think we all agreed (0.7) at the board meeting that
15            we want to write the two new projects
16            one for Donor Red and one for (0.7) eeh Donor Green (1.5)
17    *MUS:   mhm
18    *DIT:   so what we really want to do is we want to (0.7) today::
19            try to m:ake and you have to do a lot of the talking °sorry°
20    *MUS:   aha
21    *DIT:   ((chuckles)) (0.7) ehm: we want to
22            see what the goal for the next (1.0) year should be
23            for the (.) if we make the two projects two years↗
24    *MUS:   mhm
25    *DIT:   then we have to make some objectives for them (.) [but  ]
26    *MUS:                                                    [okay↗]
27    *DIT:   the better we make the objectives the better the
28            project will be (1.5) the better it will be aligned with
29            (0.6) the work
30    *MUS:   okay↗
31    (0.7)
32    *DIT:   eeh yeah and then we should (2.7)
33            so if we: start today with making a-
34            what should the goals for the two years be↗
35    *NEL:   three years
36    %com:   Nelly looks up to Ditte, then continues to go through
37            her papers
38    *DIT:   £three years£ after this project ends
39    %com:   Ditte briefly looks to Nelly, then back at Musa
40    *(1.1)
41    *MUS:   okay
42    *DIT:   and then we try to (0.6) target what can we: what- how can we:
43            which:: activities can we (think any for that)
44    *MUS:   yoah
45    (1.6)
46    *DIT:   and (2.1) maybe we do that in big round and
47    %com:   Nelly briefly looks up at Ditte during pause; Musa adjusts
48            his seating, then reaches down under his table;
49            Lucky starts to leaf through the documents in his lap;
50            Ditte proceeds to talk in Musa's direction although
51            he no longer makes eye contact
52    *       then the next couple of days we use some more time on
53            dividing it in what is really important and we'll
54            put that in the Donor Green project and what is
55    *MUS:   mhm
56    (1.5)
57    *DIT:   like (0.5) good to have
58    *MUS:   yah
59    *DIT:   and put that in the Donor Red project
60            because the Donor Red funds: are much more insecure
```

Ditte's explanation of the plan for the meeting displays her epistemic status to know what to do next and how to go about it. In contrast to Monitoring meeting 1, she does so with very few hesitation markers. At this stage she can therefore be taken to display 'doing being' (Sacks, 1984, p. 429) the facilitator of the meeting and process. There is general alignment with this self-selected role, as there is no explicit or implicit rejection of Ditte's claim to a particular role and epistemic status. She is only

challenged once (35) by Nelly, who erroneously corrects Ditte that the project will be three years long, when it is planned for two, as Ditte first suggests and as subsequent interactions in the meeting prove.

The moment that I want to draw the reader's attention to takes place in line 19 where Ditte explicitly says "you have to do a lot of the talking sorry", with her body and gaze turned towards Musa's general direction. In doing so she can be seen attributing the task of 'talking' to Musa, at the very least. At this point in the interaction it is not clear what talking means specifically and the kind of epistemic status this implies.

However, Ditte's turn-final "sorry" indicates that this way of distributing roles and tasks warrants an apology (Robinson, 2004). Indeed, this is received with a surprised "aha" by Musa (line 20), judging from his tone of voice. The question then becomes - what underlying normativity is Ditte orienting to with her apology. One reading could be that this distribution of roles and tasks puts the burden of providing answers entirely on Musa (potentially also Lucky and Nelly), thereby relieving Ditte (if not also Liv) from the responsibility. A further interpretation can be related to an unequal distribution of knowledge. Drawing once again from studies of epistemics which have shown that who questions are directed at indexes which co-interactants are assumed to be higher in epistemic status. My point here is to highlight that Musa, and potentially the other Swazi partners, are treated as knowing participants by virtue of being attributed the task of "doing a lot of the talking". Regardless of different possible interpretations, what is clearly evident is that this way of distributing roles and tasks is somehow marked and requires an apology. Furthermore, despite his surprise (20), Musa aligns with this participation framework across the following two extracts. Analyses of Transcript 2-2 and 2-3 to follow explore how the distribution of roles around who elicits input and who responds is talked into being. The analyses reveal the continued relevance of epistemic orientations in assigning roles and role-specific tasks.

Transcript 2-2

```
%com:   everyone is looking in Ditte's direction; Ditte is looking in Musa's
        direction
*DIT:   so (1.3) what do we think (0.5) if we should think
        big (0.5) what would the goal: in two thousand and (1.3)
        what is that eighte- nineteen (2.1)
        twenty two thousand and twenty (0.6) our 2020 plan
*LIV:   ((chuckles))
(5.5)
%com:   Musa looks to his left, towards the wall, Nelly is making notes,
        Liv and Ditte are looking towards Musa
*MUS:   mhm (1.8) tui
%com:   during pause, Musa looks towards and moves his head towards Nelly,
        Ditte and Liv looks towards Nelly
*(0.8)
*NEL:   ((chuckles))
%com:   Nelly looks down on the notes in front of her and makes a brief note
*LIV:   hehhe
(0.7)
*DIT:   hmm↘
%com:   Nelly continues to look down, adjusts herself in the chair
*LIV:   (°      °)
*DIT:   that's a big question
*NEL:   yeah
(2.9)
%com:   Ditte and Liv look at Nelly, Musa looks down at his desk, Nelly is
        looking up towards the ceiling
*DIT:   for Swazi Democracy
(0.6)
%com:   Nelly and Musa both briefly look towards Ditte
*NEL:   (oh/ho)
(5.6)
%com:   Nelly looks back up towards the ceiling, Ditte, Liv and Musa look
        towards Nelly
*MUS:   I'm starting here
%com:   Musa points to Nelly with his pen
*(0.7)
*DIT:   okay
```

Ditte's question initiates the brainstorming activity (85-88). Even though she does not nominate anyone in specific with the obligation to respond, she has previously already established that at least Musa is expected to respond. This is further reinforced by her looking in Musa's general direction as she articulates the question. It is interesting the she uses "we" in her call to action, similarly to what takes place in the monitoring meeting, which can be taken as a continued attempt to make the process seem like a joint one, even as the task of providing answers has been distributed asymmetrically. Ditte also references the political slogan of the reigning Swazi government ("2020 plan", line 88), which produces a brief laughter response from Liv. This reference can be taken as a demonstration of shared, local knowledge. Kappa (2018) and Tranekjær and Kappa (2016) show how such instances of displaying shared knowledge can be taken as an instance of a participant seeking co-membership with co-interactants. In this context, it can have the function of reducing the asymmetrical distribution of roles and role-specific tasks, although this attempt goes largely unacknowledged.

Ditte's question is answered by Musa which reinforces his implicit alignment with the suggested distribution of roles and tasks. However, rather than provide an

answer, he nominates Nelly (NEL), the accountant, to answer first instead (93). In doing so, Musa can be seen attributing epistemic status to Nelly, as well as revealing that the obligation to answers also extends to other Swazi partners. Nelly displays discomfort in having to answer, indicated by her high-pitched chuckle (97). Immediately after, we see Ditte classifying her initial question as "big" (104) which suggests that Ditte may be interpreting Nelly's response as an indication of some kind of trouble. She furthermore adds that it is a big question for "Swazi Democracy" (109), which can be taken as a clarification that this is indeed a difficult question for them. Ditte's explanation of her question all come across as mitigating, which may be related to her viewing Nelly as someone that is either taken as or has revealed herself to be relatively lower in epistemic status through her immediate response. From a longitudinal perspective, it is indeed true that Nelly had rarely provided any answers during the monitoring meetings. From this perspective, to expect Nelly to respond is a marked occurrence. Indeed, no response is forthcoming from Nelly.

Musa then restates that he is not going to answer first but starting with Nelly, as indicated by him pointing to Nelly with his pen (116-117). In this way, Musa is not lowering his epistemic status by not providing an answer, but rather accounting for why he does not answer first, which makes visible his continued alignment with having the relevant epistemic status to provide an answer. Simultaneously, he can be seen claiming the role and right to nominate turns-at-talk. Musa's account is accepted by Ditte (119).

Transcript 2-2 shows how an elicitation-response sequence is talked into being and ratified in the brainstorming meeting. Ditte self-selects to elicit input, and Musa aligns with the role and task of having to respond, extending it to Nelly as well. In doing so, Musa accepts the epistemic status attributed to him and, in turn, attributes it to Nelly as well. In other words, underpinning this role distribution can be seen to be the participants' orientation to perceptions of co-interactants' epistemic statuses. More specifically, those who are expected to provide input seem to be expected to have the relevant epistemic status for it as well. Meanwhile, knowing what input is needed also entails some kind of knowledge, although it is not comparable with the epistemic status required to be able to provide said input. In other words, the epistemic status of Ditte regarding brainstorming for the new project is ambiguous at this point, but she does display a relevant epistemic status regarding knowing how to move the brainstorming task forward.

Finally, eliciting input can be taken to not only serve institutional aims of moving forward the task of brainstorming for a new project proposal. The elicitations can be seen to also implicitly help reach epistemic goals, such as working towards a shared body of knowledge in order to jointly be able to formulate a new project proposal.

The following Transcript 2-3 expands on the orientations to epistemic order as I

argue that there are potentially also considerations of epistemic authority (the right to know and articulate knowledge) at play in how roles and role-specific tasks come to be distributed.

Prior to Transcript 2-3 an exchange takes place which I have not transcribed but which contextualizes how Transcript 6 begins. Specifically, Nelly turns to Musa, speaking in SiSwati[27]. Musa responds to Nelly at length (in English) and explicates how Ditte's question should be understood. Musa's response indicates that there is some trouble on Nelly's behalf in providing an answer. In the process of explicating Ditte's question to Nelly, Musa displays his high epistemic status relative to Nelly with respect to what is at stake in the meeting and the initial question itself, and also makes relevant a linguistic asymmetry in being able to participate in this meeting[28]. All throughout Musa's explanation to Nelly, Ditte displays both verbally and non-verbally her support and acknowledgment of what is being said. Even after receiving this extended explanation, Nelly does not seem ready to offer an answer. The deadlock is resolved by Musa calling out people to "think aloud", followed by Liv taking the floor:

Transcript 2-3

```
%com:   Liv looks towards Musa and Nelly, who look back as Liv starts to
        speak; Ditte looks at Musa
*LIV:   there's two objectives in the current project right↗
*MUS:   mhm
*LIV:   then what about strengthening (1.0) the organisation↗
        and the one about (0.8) making (0.7) mass activities
%com:   Nelly starts to make notes and looks down
*MUS:   hm
*LIV:   is those objectives still relevant↗ (2.0) or↘
(2.1)
*MUS:   [yeah↑]
*NEL:   [yeah they are::]
*LIV:   [should they be ] phrased differently or should they
        not be taken into the new (    )
%com:   Ditte reaches for some documents, Nelly adjusts herself in the chair
        and looks up towards the ceiling
*(0.8)
*NEL:   they are still relevant
(0.9)
*DIT:   why
%com:   Ditte is pulling out some documents as she speaks, Liv looks down to
        her laptop and starts typing, Nelly adjusts herself in the chair
*(3.3)
%com:   Nelly is looking down, Musa is looking at something in his phone
```

[27] This is one of the rare instances where Swazi partners speak in SiSwati during meetings. I have not prioritized translations of these with concern for not revealing any compromising details about their political plans to outsiders who do speak SiSwati, and given that multilingual resources are not of central interest in this thesis. This does not mean that I do not recognize their role or relevance, as I elaborate in the discussion in Chapter 11.

[28] A potential interpretation of Nelly's previous lack of response may indeed be tied to linguistic competence rather than an epistemic issue, but the data is ambiguous in this regard to make a convincing case. Regardless, this is a point which I discuss in Chapter 11.

```
177   *NEL:   hm::: I- I think (2.0) it is still needed (0.6)
178   %com:   at turn end, Ditte puts documents down and looks at Nelly, who
179           meets her gaze
180   *       to strengthen the organisation
181   *DIT:   mhmm
182   *NEL:   as we are::: (.) growing (0.9) uh
183           there are a lot of things that are coming up (1.2) so
184           we can't just (3.2) mm::: (0.7) what do I want to say
185   %com:   during the 3.2s pause, Musa puts away his phone and looks towards
186           Ditte
187   *(12.5)
188   %com:   Nelly looks down at the floor, Ditte looks at Nelly, Musa looks at
189           Ditte and Liv looks at her laptop
```

Liv's extended question (155, 157-158, 161, 165-166) works to establish her as one more facilitator of the brainstorming process and input elicitor. By outlining what the current project entails by way of objectives, she makes an epistemic claim that comes to be tied to her self-selected role. Since none of the participants challenge her on this, there is alignment with her claim to the role and the epistemic status this implies. This supports my earlier interpretation that to be able to elicit input, there is also a certain measure of knowledge required.

Liv does something more in line 161 by ending her question with a turn-final "or". Pomerantz (1988) has argued that turn-final 'or' suggests a candidate answer where a potential answer has been provided in the question. By providing a candidate answer, Liv can be seen displaying her knowledge of the matter, as well as her preferred stance in terms of an answer. Building on this, Drake (2015) argues that with a turn-final 'or' a speaker demonstrates uncertainty and a lack of commitment to the proposition in the question. Drake also shows that the polarity suggested in the question requires no interactional work in response (e.g. an account), as would be the case with a dispreferred response, because 'or' leaves open the possibility that there might come a negative response. This is in line with Stokoe (2010) who suggests that turn-final 'or' can be used to neutralize the polarity in the question. In short, as Liv demonstrates her knowledge of the ongoing project, she can be seen providing a candidate answer which potentially indexes uncertainty and makes it possible for the respondents to reject the proposition in the question – that these objectives may no longer be relevant. I would argue that this formulation indexes more than just Liv's uncertainty, but also an orientation to the Swazi partners as the ones with the higher epistemic status, and potentially also epistemic authority (i.e. the right and obligation to know) on what the new project should entail. I develop this argument on the basis of the next extract.

After a brief pause, Nelly seems to have gathered her thoughts and starts to answer the question (164), but she is overlapped by Musa (163). Musa aborts his attempt and gives the floor to Liv who starts to reformulate her question once more, also in overlap (165-166). After another brief pause, Nelly repeats and expands on her initial response. However, it seems that Ditte treats her answer as incomplete as

she can be seen asking “why” (172), which Nelly treats as a request for an account (177). By asking ‘why’, Ditte can be seen claiming the institutional role of someone who has the right to evaluate the responses. As such, while the emerging interactional pattern entails a distribution of roles around Nordic volunteers eliciting input and Swazi partners providing it, neither Ditte nor Liv are passive participants. Through different elicitations, they can be seen actively contributing to the brainstorming process, stopping short of providing clear answers themselves (as evidenced in Transcript 2-4 to follow).

Nelly proceeds to elaborate (177, 180, 182-184) but indicates trouble with formulating her thoughts, followed by a 12.5 second pause where none of the other participants claim the interactional floor. Nelly is clearly struggling with the role and epistemic status attributed to her by virtue of having to answer the question. After the 12.5 second pause, Ditte self-selects to take the floor and makes an epistemic claim to what she knows about the state of the project (Transcript 2-4), while using this knowledge to then (re)formulate her original question.

Transcript 2-4

```
190   *DIT:   but I think this project has been focusing a lot of
191   %com:   Nelly and Liv look at Ditte as she starts to speak
192   *       strengthening Swazi Democracy and the staff
193   *MUS:   hmm
194   *DIT:   and the organisation
195   *MUS:   mhm
196   *DIT:   and actually (.) what I see here is that a lot of the things you
197           have achieved really well
198   *MUS:   mhm
199   *DIT:   and you've put in a lot of
200           procedures that works really well
201   *MUS:   mhm
202   (0.8)
203   *DIT:   of course there's always room for improvement
204   *MUS:   yah
205   (1.3)
206   *DIT:   but do you think that you need (1.5) mm
207           that we need to make that a main objective again
208           to strengthen the organisational structures
209           within Swazi Democracy the board and the staff and
210   *MUS:   mm (.) if I may
211   *DIT:   mhm
212   *MUS:   make my own (     ) we may still need to do some of those
213           things but not necessarily prioritize them (.) the
214           coming project I think in my view needs to prioritize
215           campaigns
216   *DIT:   campaigns
217   %com:   Ditte starts to write down on the mindmap sheet in front of her
```

In this extract, Ditte demonstrates significant epistemic access (i.e. degree of knowledge) to the state of the current project and Swazi Democracy as an organization (190-203). The knowledge that Ditte articulates is consistently acknowledged by Musa throughout Ditte’s extended turns, which can be taken as a ratification of Ditte’s claim to knowledge as well as an alignment with her assessment. Regardless of Ditte’s demonstration of epistemic status, Ditte puts the onus of making

the decision about the main focus for the project on the Swazi partners by asking a more pointed question (206-209). While she stops short of providing an answer herself, the way she formulates her question suggests a preferred response, evidenced by the use of 'but' and 'again' which introduce a polarity. That Ditte does not provide an answer herself as part of her epistemic claim could indicate that there is indeed not just an orientation to who knows better (epistemic status), but also an orientation to who has the right and obligation to know and articulate this knowledge (epistemic authority). In this sense, it is not simply that the Swazi partners are seen as knowledgeable to answer the questions. It may also be because they are seen as the rightful participants to make decisions about the project. However, as Ditte and Liv's questions suggest, the two Nordic volunteers actively contribute to this process in more or less explicit ways.

The interaction continues with Musa asking for permission to take the floor (210), which relinquishes Nelly from having to answer, and also attributes the role of 'distributor of turns-at-talk' to Ditte. Musa ratifies his high epistemic status and begins to provide an extended account of his vision. In doing so, Musa's response supports my unfolding argument that who is expected to answer questions is also seen as knowledgeable. However, in Transcript 2-3 and 2-4, I have expanded on this argument by saying that this role distribution may also be underpinned by an orientation to the emerging normative order where the Swazi partners could be seen as epistemic authorities - that the right to know, articulate, and decide what is best for the new project is attributed to the Swazi partners. This normative order has implications for which participant can take on which role, whether by way of being assigned by others or self-selection.

To sum up, the analysis of the emergent distribution of roles and role-specific practices in the brainstorming meeting reveals the following. Ditte and Liv self-select to function as meeting facilitators who distribute turns, elicit input, and evaluate responses on the basis of their knowledge of the ongoing project. However, their epistemic status is presented as lower relative to the Swazi partners, who are explicitly assigned the task of 'talking'. 'Talking' is later translated into the task of providing input, which is underpinned by the orientation that the Swazi partners have the relevant epistemic status to provide answers. While Nelly struggles with this role, epistemic status, and task, Musa aligns with and delivers on it. Crucially, however, the Nordic volunteers seem to refrain from providing answers to the questions themselves, which I have argued is a reflection of the emerging normative order around epistemic authority, which is attributed to the Swazi partners in this meeting. This does not mean that they do not influence the brainstorming process in more subtle ways, as I have shown.

What implications do these observations have for working towards a shared body

of knowledge? In the case of the monitoring meeting examples, I argued that elicitations by the volunteers serve both institutional and epistemic goals. In this meeting, the volunteers already display some measure of shared knowledge concerning the ongoing project, presumably gained from the monitoring meetings. Furthermore, while the elicitations in this meeting are supported by epistemic claims to existing knowledge, the elicitations continue to function as an interactional method which can help establish even further areas of shared knowledge to be able to produce a new project proposal together.

As a final example, I analyze the distribution of roles and role-specific practices in one of the text production meetings.

6.1.3. Swiftly establishing institutional roles in one text production meeting

All seven text production meetings, which take place from Day 3 until Day 6, are initiated by Ditte who delegates participants into smaller groups and assigns them with specific text production tasks related to producing two donor applications. As such, each time anew, Ditte swiftly claims and maintains the role to facilitate the overall process. However, each social configuration works out their own participation framework for the duration of their shared text production activities. On the basis of my analysis of one illustrative example, I argue that text production meetings are also underpinned by orientations to epistemic status as foundational to role distribution.

The following example takes place on Day 4, a day after the brainstorming meeting, and is one of the first meetings with concerted effort being directed towards writing a donor application. Immediately prior to the below extract, Ditte had suggested that the group of six people split into two groups of three, all working in the same meeting room on the Donor Red application template. What follows is a shuffling around of who sits with whom, which results in Musa taking a seat at one end of the meeting room and Ditte following him to where he has decided to sit.

Figure 5: Text production meeting 2, establishing institutional roles

Transcript 3[29]

```
8     %com:   Musa is sitting by the table, Ditte walks over
9     *DIT:   so what should the:: (.) wording for the objective
10            for the campaign be Musa
11    %com:   Ditte walks behind Musa while looking for something in
12            her bag; Musa gathers up pages in front of him meanwhile
13    (3.7)
14    %com:   Musa gazes at Ditte who reaches into her bag
15            and places something from it on the table
16    *MUS:   we said we can do (xx) campaign on media
17    %com:   Ditte organises her things on the table
18    (0.7)
19    %com:   Ditte places something on the table
20    *DIT:   on arts huh
21    *MUS:   on arts me- information and media
22    %com:   Ditte organises her things meanwhile
23    *DIT:   yeah
24    %com:   Ditte pulls a chair
25    (1.4)
26    %com:   Ditte sits down slowly
27    *MUS:   so now we eh must what we must put mo:re clarity
28    %com:   Ditte organises her charger cable meanwhile
29    *DIT:   yeah
30    *MUS:   activities
31    *DIT:   yeah
32    (0.6)
33    %com:   Ditte still organising her charger cable
```

[29] Transcription key: *italics* indicates typing during talk, blue indicates reading out loud voice, which is audibly marked from the rest of the talk (see Appendix D).

```
34    *DIT:   and we have to have a good
35            f::raming of how (0.6)
36            of (0.6)
37    %com:   Ditte reaches under the table to connect her charger
38            the objective
39    (2.1)
40    %com:   Ditte is under the table, Musa gazes down and towards
41            Ditte
42    *MUS:   Swazi Democracy have more (1.1)
43    %com:   Ditte emerges from underneath the table
44    *MUS:   capacity on:
45            Swazi Democracy an- Swazi Democracy leadership and
46    %com:   Ditte positions hands to start typing on her laptop
47    *MUS:   affiliates (0.7) has more capacity to::
48    (2.5)
49    %com:   Ditte starts to type while Musa looks at her screen
50    *MUS:   ci- circulate information (1.1) and
51            crea:te (0.5)
52    *LIV:   sorry Ditte
53    %com:   several minutes not transcribed, Liv asks a question from
54            Ditte who turns to look at Liv to respond; thereafter
55            Ditte looks back at the screen, Musa also turns his gaze to
56            the screen
57    *DIT:   hhh. so Swazi Democracy and affiliates have more
58            ((starts to type)) capacity
59    (1.2)
60    %com:   Ditte types during pause
61    *MUS:   to circulate
62    *DIT:   to circ- (2.6) circul:ate
63    %com:   Ditte types throughout her turn
```

Ditte launches the (sub-)meeting before she has even taken a seat (9-10). She asks for an objective for one of the ideas for the project ("the campaign", line 16)[30]. With this initiation, she self-selects to be the facilitator of producing the Donor Red application template in this social configuration. Ditte's switch to the task frame is so abrupt that Musa asks for clarification on what it is in fact that they are going to do next (27, 30). Musa's question aligns with and solidifies Ditte's role as the facilitator of this task, and similarly to previous examples, attributes a higher epistemic status to Ditte on this matter. Ditte confirms Musa's understanding of the task at hand (31), and adds what else the task requires (34-38). All of this ltogether reinforces Ditte's epistemic status concerning the process and what it requires.

After a brief pause (39), Musa answers Ditte's initial question by beginning to provide a candidate formulation of the objective (42, 44-45), which Ditte starts to type up (line 49). Lines 42-59 constitute the crucial point in this transcript where the distribution of roles, epistemic statuses and role-specific practices are talked into being and ratified. More specifically, Musa accepts the role of providing input,

[30] A campaign refers to the idea of several political campaigns being planned and run by affiliates of Swazi Democracy. These campaigns would target societal issues so as to hook different segments of the population into being engaged in the political movement.

extending it to providing candidate formulations as well. In doing so, Musa displays his epistemic status on what may be considered relevant input for the template. Meanwhile, Ditte takes on the role of writing down Musa's input as well as prompting him for more. Although this example does not enlighten us on Ditte's epistemic status concerning the project content, or to what extent she draws from her knowledge of it, she can nevertheless be seen solidifying her role as 'entextualizer' through her access to the laptop and the donor application template stored on it.

The pair are then interrupted by Liv directing a question to Ditte, which she then responds to (transcript not included). After closing this side-sequence, Ditte immediately returns to the task at hand, gazing at the laptop screen, and reading out loud what she had presumably thus far written down (57), the latter evidenced by the use of 'so' which suggests a summary. This brief interactional move re-establishes her role as 'meeting facilitator' and 'entextualizer' by picking up where she previously left off. She then starts to type at "capacity" (58), which is when Musa provides a further candidate word (61) that Ditte types up without any further discussion[31].

In short, despite being interrupted, the pair already display their orientation to their mutually established emerging institutional and epistemic order around who does what and who knows what. In this case, Musa is once more treated as the participant with the relevant epistemic status to provide input, and Ditte maintains her epistemic status as process facilitator which is further supported by her access to the laptop and the application template. Compared to the previous meetings then, the distribution of roles emerges in this meeting over the course of a very brief exchange, although it is the first of the meetings focused around text production. At the same time, even though the institutional task of producing an application is different from previous meetings analyzed in this section, since it is more closely structured around the template, the elicitation-response framework is nevertheless maintained in a similar way to previous meetings.

However, it is also important to point out that Ditte could to a large degree fill out the template on her own, as she also does at several points during this and other text production meetings. Musa does not orient to this as a transgression, nor does he interrupt or correct Ditte (with a few exceptions). In this sense, the input elicitations that Ditte directs at Musa can be seen to further the institutional task, but they also attribute both epistemic status and authority to Musa. Here I am drawing a parallel to Transcript 2-3 and Transcript 2-4, where I argued that the Nordic volunteers refrain from making decisions about the project as a way of attributing epistemic and decision-making authority to the Swazi partners. I would argue that the same principle

[31] At this point I refrain from discussing when Ditte chooses to type up Musa's contributions. These analyses are given dedicated attention in Part II.

can be observed in this, and other, text production meetings. In this sense, the elicitations during the text production meetings are perhaps less relevant for working towards a shared body of knowledge, but they can still be seen to serve the purpose of filling in gaps of knowledge, as brought forward by what the donor application templates need by way of content.

Finally, it is important to note that in the simultaneous sub-meeting with Nelly, Martha, and Liv, Nelly is not oriented to nearly as often for input on the template as Ditte can be seen doing with Musa in Transcript 3. However, in the budget writing meeting on Day 6, where Nelly, Martha, and Lucky are working together on one part of the budget, Martha asks for input from both Nelly and Lucky who also provide this input without much uncertainty. These observations of variations in role and task distribution in text production meetings reinforce my argument that there is a correlation between perceptions of higher epistemic status and the choice to elicit input from specific participants.

6.1.4. Summary

In this analytical chapter I presented a moment-by-moment analysis of how the institutionality of several meetings is talked into being, with a specific emphasis on how roles are distributed with respect to participants' orientations to epistemic statuses through employing words, bodily conduct, and material objects.

All of the openings of the three analyzed meetings, to be taken as illustrative of other analyzed meetings as well, entailed the emergence of the interactional pattern of Nordic volunteers eliciting input and the Swazi partners providing answers for various institutional goals – monitoring an ongoing project, brainstorming around the new project proposal, and producing a donor application. On the basis of detailed analyses of how roles and role-specific practices are distributed around this interactional pattern, I made the argument that these can be seen to be ongoingly shaped by and reflective of participants' orientations to the emerging institutional order. These orientations can in turn be seen to be shaped by and reflective of perceptions of asymmetrical epistemic statuses and authority, which mark some participants to be (better) suited for taking on certain roles and role-specific practices.

There may also be an element of orienting to some participants as more legitimate than others, which comes about from experience gained over time and which solidifies into a habit. For instance, it is quite likely that those participants which the Nordic volunteers perceive as consistently knowledgeable to provide input are the co-interactants they turn to in subsequent turns as well. Over time, this emerges as an interactional norm in its own right, which the analyses in this section may have

captured.

Alongside these analyzes I have also ongoingly commented on my interpretation of these emerging participant frameworks as serving the purpose of working towards a shared body of knowledge. More specifically, I argued that the way in which roles and role-specific practices are distributed, inherently make possible the sharing of knowledge from the Swazi partners to the Nordic volunteers. The crucial interactional method in this regard are the various elicitations produced by the Nordic volunteers, which primarily function to move forward the institutional activities. It is on the basis of the knowledge shared in response to these elicitations that the participants can be seen to establish a shared body of knowledge, which potentially aids in jointly producing a new project in the form of two different donor applications.

6.2. Conversational teaching sequences

The Nordic volunteers opening sequences through various elicitations as part of their self-selected institutional role is just one side of the participation framework. The other side of the same coin is the answers produced by the Swazi partners. However, while the Nordic volunteers seem to consider the Swazi partners as (rightfully) knowledgeable, as the previous analytical section showed, the latter party seems to consider the first party as *consistently* not knowledgeable. This is evidenced in Musa's interactional efforts to remedy the perceived knowledge asymmetry through what I have called 'conversational teaching' sequences.

In this analytical section I present the second interactional method, and perhaps the most prominent one, for how the participants can be seen working towards a shared body of knowledge. This second method I refer to as 'conversational teaching', drawing inspiration from Keppler & Luckmann (1991) (see next Section 7.2.1. for definition). My analytical focus on conversational teaching emerged inductively as an observation of this recurrent phenomenon in the interactional data. As a result of this salient observation, I developed a way of describing it, which is presented in this analytical section.

In this analytical section I argue that conversational teaching reflects Musa's treatment of the Nordic volunteers as lacking relevant knowledge, and as such, his answers not only serve to fulfill the institutional task of having to provide input as part of the established participant framework, but also to work towards a shared body of knowledge through transmitting knowledge which he deems relevant to share. As a result, conversational teaching mostly occurs when the activity is discussion-based rather than focused around text production.

The analytical section is organized as follows. First, I account for the concept of conversational teaching (Section 6.2.1), after which I outline the steps I have taken in identifying and empirically analyzing the phenomenon (Section 6.2.2). I then analyze two illustrative examples of conversational teaching which occur at different points in the project visit (Section 6.2.3).

6.2.1. The concept of conversational teaching

Conversational teaching was first coined by Keppler and Luckmann (1991) as a term referring to an interactional phenomenon where speakers can be seen verbally transmitting knowledge to co-participants through interaction. The authors' point of departure is the idea that in constructing turns at talk, speakers display their assumptions about each other's knowledge states, which aligns with studies of epistemics as presented in Chapter 5. On the basis of this, Keppler and Luckmann theorize that most speakers have experienced what they call the 'inequality of the

social distribution of knowledge', drawing from Berger & Luckmann (1966). In other words, "asymmetries of knowledge are a universal aspect of human social life (Keppler & Luckmann, 1991, p. 143) and experienced by people in their everyday lives. These asymmetries may be handled or they may be left unaddressed altogether. In some cases, Keppler and Luckmann argue, asymmetries of knowledge become an obstacle to the unfolding interaction and therefore need to be addressed before the dialogue can continue. It is this phenomenon that Keppler and Luckmann attempt to showcase - how situationally (self-/)selected 'teachers' interactionally remove knowledge asymmetries in order for communication to proceed (Keppler & Luckmann, 1991, p. 144-145).

The authors investigate conversational teaching in informal talk, which is markedly different from teaching by those who are institutionally put forward as the experts e.g. professional teachers. For instance, the authors argue that in informal talk, when one participant determines a knowledge asymmetry which is communicatively relevant, that participant can choose to step forward as a situationally selected privileged speaker, i.e. the teacher, and provide conversational teaching to a situationally selected learner. It is important to note that Keppler and Luckmann do not see these situationally selected teachers or learners as pre-given or static across the full length of a dialogue, nor do these momentary interactional roles last beyond the conversational teaching sequence. In this sense, while conversational teaching may have the interactional weight to momentarily reconfigure a participation framework, it can only function as an "enclave" (1991, p. 145) within an interaction and an existing participation framework.

The concept of conversational teaching has not received much traction within Conversation Analytic studies. Only studies of explanation discourse make direct reference to Keppler and Luckmann's work. Explanatory talk (e.g. Morek, 2014, 2015) holds some important similarities with the phenomenon of conversational teaching. In explanatory talk, there is one participant who is momentarily invited to take on or self-select the task of sharing knowledge. However, a large part of explanatory talk studies focus on peer interaction and adult-child interaction rather than institutional talk, as is the case in the present study. Furthermore, explanatory discourse studies are based on instances where speaker A clearly indicates not knowing, which speaker B attends to through an explanation, or what Keppler and Luckmann would refer to as conversational teaching. In the present study, a speaker explicitly indicating not knowing is rare, potentially due to an interest in upholding an image of professionalism, and as such, explanatory talk does not provide relevant empirical material to draw inspiration from.

Finally, Keppler & Luckmann's study on its own is not well-suited for expanding the empirical understanding of conversational teaching. This is because a large part

of the examples they present could benefit from further substantiation. However, their study is useful in so far as it investigates a phenomenon which has not been treated by CA literature to date. As a result, I have chosen to simply draw inspiration from Keppler & Luckmann's definition of the concept as an analytical lens with which to identify instances of conversational teaching.

6.2.2. Analyzing collections of conversational teaching instances

The phenomenon that I have called conversational teaching became relevant as a result of repeated engagement with the interactional data, informed by the research questions of the larger research project. In this section I account for my analytical process of building and analyzing a collection of conversational teaching sequences.

1. In the early transcription and coding phase, one very salient feature of the interactions was Musa's extended turns-at-talk in response to the volunteers' sequence openers in discussion-based meetings. I noted that instead of a direct answer, Musa offered considerable amount of information without any prompting, or sometimes even without any obvious link to the original sequence opener. I then decided to pursue analyzing this phenomenon by identifying all sequences in which Musa's response seemingly goes beyond the original sequence opener.

2. I looked for any further common features among these instances and identified that, across the board, these answers would first entail a short answer ('simple information exchanges' according to Keppler and Luckmann 1991, p. 159), followed by lengthy descriptions of other related facts, explanations of visions for the new project, lengthy real life examples, and placing the answer within a broader context of meaning ('wisdom' according to Keppler & Luckmann, 1991, p. 159). The instances which most piqued my interest fell under the latter category, seeing as the other lengthy answers were still topically relevant, albeit wordy. The "wisdom" type conversational teaching stood out as the most unambiguous manifestation of an assumed epistemic asymmetry that needs attending to. In fact, Keppler and Luckmann call this type "a pervasive characteristic of the conversational 'teaching' procedure" (1991, p. 159) and which tends to make turns rather long. It is a collection of these examples that I continued to investigate, although these instances also involve instances of the other "types" of conversational teaching. The structural organization of conversational teaching sequences is presented in Section 6.2.3.

3. In order to explore whether there is a change in the number of occurrences of

conversational teaching over time, assuming that more and more knowledge would be shared as time goes on, I counted the number of occurrences of this type of conversational teaching over time across the meeting types. In the process, I determined that it is in the discussion-based meetings that most instances of conversational teaching take place, and rarely in the text production meetings. I theorized that this difference is dependent on the interactional goal of the meeting, as the text production meetings are more clearly constrained by the donor templates which impinge on the verbal interaction as well (see analyses in Chapter 10). Finally, I identified no substantial increase or decrease in instances of conversational teaching across the discussion-based meeting types over time, which suggested that there is a consistent orientation to the Nordic volunteers as speakers with lower epistemic status. The results from the analytical steps described here are presented in Appendix L.

4. Finally, I looked for a qualitative difference in what kinds of turns prompted conversational teaching. There was considerable systematicity to the structure of a conversational teaching sequence, which is discussed in Section 6.2.3. At this point I also identified a difference in which kind of sequence openers prompt conversational teaching in the brainstorming meeting (Day 3) versus the final planning meeting (Day 5), which is also discussed on the basis of analyzing two illustrative examples in Section 6.2.4.

6.2.3. Overall structural organization of a conversational teaching sequence

In this section I present the overall structural organization of a conversational teaching sequence. This structure entails different phases (e.g. opening, response etc.) and remains unchanged across the different discussion-based meetings. It is not my ambition to provide several examples of conversational teaching sequences because the variations typically only concern content rather than the structure of the sequence. This observation on its own underscores the argument that I aim to make – that there is a consistent orientation to the Nordic volunteers as not knowledgeable enough, regardless of any epistemic claims that they may make along the way. Taking all of the above into consideration, my emphasis is primarily on exploring the epistemic nature of conversational teaching sequences.

Figure 6 is a summary of the overall organizational structure of a conversational teaching sequence.

```
Speaker A: First pair part, elicitation
          - Open-ended question
          - Follow up question
          - Question with preferred answer
          - Evaluative question
          - Proposal (formulated either as question or
            statement)
Speaker B: Second pair part, response/uptake
          - Brief answer with positive or negative valence
              o Description of facts
              o Real-life examples
              o Explication of vision for new project
              o Broader context/wisdom
          - Summary statement, beginning with 'so'
Speaker A: Sequence closing third
          - Follow-up question
          - Agreement/disagreement, sometimes followed by a
            question or a proposal
          - Closing acknowledgment e.g. 'okay'
```

Figure 6: Overall organizational structure of a conversational teaching sequence

As a rule, a Nordic volunteer (speaker A) would open a sequence with any of the listed (in no particular order) sequence openers. This would then typically be met with a brief response from Musa (speaker B, who is the primary responder), although this "step" is sometimes also absent. In the main body of Musa's answer, he would operationalize one or several of the four conversational teaching "types" within the same answer. The main body is, as a general rule, followed by a summary statement beginning with 'so'.

This is a fairly typical sequential structure of institutional talk (Heritage, 2013; Heritage & Clayman, 2010), where one participant elicits responses (typically an institutional representative) and another provides input. What is also fairly typical to institutional talk and to the data here is the absence of acknowledging the response from Speaker B as 'news' (Heritage, 2013, p. 11-12; Heritage & Clayman, 2010, pp. 27-38). Instead, the 'sequence closing third' (Schegloff, 2007) is typically either an acknowledgment, or a further question that elicits a response, in this case produced by Speaker A, a Nordic Solidarity volunteer[32].

After having briefly described the overall organizational structure of conversation teaching, some concrete examples would be useful at this point. However, conversational teaching is a time-consuming phenomenon, often lasting several

[32] As a side note, writing down Speaker B's responses can take place at any point during this sequence and does not seem to have any impact on the unfolding of the interaction or the non-/occurrence of conversational teaching.

minutes. This makes presenting examples quite demanding in terms of transcription and word count constraints. In order to illustrate this phenomenon, I have chosen some of the few brief examples which are rich enough to illustrate its many variations. Some extended versions of conversational teaching are provided in the Appendix K instead together with my brief commentary. While exemplifying the sequential structure of the conversational teaching sequence, I also take the opportunity to explore the qualitative difference between the conversational teaching sequences in two different meetings – the brainstorming meeting (Day 3) and the final planning meeting (Day 5).

This first example, Transcript 4, is taken from the brainstorming meeting (Day 3), which the reader should already be somewhat familiar with (see my analysis of its participation framework in Section 6.1.2). The structure of the conversational teaching sequence here involves two proposal statements. One of these is responded to with conversational teaching which contains a real-life illustrative example. The extract highlights how Musa takes up Nordic volunteers' sequence opening as evidence of their low epistemic status.

The following exchange takes place half-way into the brainstorming meeting after most of the ideas for the new project had been outlined and written down on the mind map sheet by Ditte (see Figure 7). Prior to the following exchange, Ditte combed through her notes and began to clarify details around specific ideas. One instance of this results in the interaction in Transcript 4. The idea which Ditte seeks to clarify concerns allocating funds for affiliate organizations so they can run independent political campaigns in target populations.

Figure 7: Brainstorming meeting, conversational teaching

Transcript 4

```
10    %com:   Ditte stops taking notes, looks up towards Musa;
11            Musa and Lucky look at Ditte; Liv is taking notes
12    *DIT:   ehm (2.6) but yeah we need to find a smart way of having
13            the money controlled from £here£
14    %com:   Ditte raises eyebrows high at 'here';
15            Nelly looks up to Ditte, Liv stops taking notes and looks
16            towards Ditte
17    *MUS:   yeah
18    %com:   Musa shakes his head briefly while speaking
19    *DIT:   even tho[ugh] it's (.) [they'     ]re using it
20    %com:   Liv frowns her forehead during the brief pause
21    *LUC:           [hm ]
22    *LIV:                          [but that's]
23    %com:   Ditte meets Liv's gaze while smiling
24            hard when they have to plan it up them[self]
25    *DIT:                                        [yeah] yeah
26    %com:   Ditte continues to smile but looks towards Nelly, Lucky
27            and Musa; Liv continues to look at Ditte
28    (0.8)
29    *LIV:   if you're giving them that responsibility you do wanna (.)
30    %com:   Lucky turns his head to Liv at 'responsibility'
31            give it fully kind of
32    %com:   Liv looks to Musa at turn end, Ditte still looks at Musa
33    (1.1)
```

Ditte opens the sequence with a call for finding a solution for managing the money centrally from Swazi Democracy (12-13). This would mean that the affiliates would run their own campaigns but would not be managing the funding for these campaigns on their own. Musa's immediate brief response is to align with the suggestion (17). Ditte adds that the money should be controlled centrally despite the fact that the affiliates are the ones using the money for their campaigns (19). Ditte's sequence opener can be seen as an expression of low epistemic status as she does not offer a solution herself. There could be a number of reasons for why she does not provide a solution, but in this case what is relevant is how Ditte's sequence opener is taken up as a point to be discussed.

For the sake of clarification, the purpose of the independent affiliate campaigns is to support empowerment and independence of the affiliates, as evidenced in earlier recorded discussions. In that sense, having the money controlled centrally can be seen as going against the very goal of the idea. Liv is the one to point out this obvious contradiction (22, 24, 29-31) – the affiliates should get the responsibility fully if they are to run their own campaigns. Liv's statement contains a relatively assertive epistemic claim, evidenced in almost no mitigating epistemic stance markers. Regardless of Liv's assertiveness, Liv's criticism of Ditte's proposal is treated as evidence of low epistemic status, based on Musa's uptake:

Transcript 4-2

```
34    *MUS:    [I:] think I wil- we can't give mo:ney
35    %com:    Ditte stops smiling and nods at 'money'
36    *LUC:    [mm]
37    %com:    Lucky looks to Musa, Musa moves his one hand in the air
38    *LUC:    yeah
39    *MUS:    be[cause] one when you give people money
40    *DIT:      [yeah ]
41    *MUS:    is not an issue only of capacity .hh
42    %com:    Ditte nods at turn end
43             but is an issue of do they have an account
44    %com:    Musa looks all around the room while talking
45    *DIT:    mhm
46    %com:    Ditte nods; Musa leans forward in his chair
47    *MUS:    because once you give money give Nelly the 30 000
48             cash (0.6) it goes and sits with [£the£ hah]
49    *DIT:                                     [£yea£    ]heh
50    %com:    Musa lifts the pen in his hand during overlap
51    *MUS:    30 000 at home
52    %com:    Musa looks to Ditte
53    *DIT:    £ye[ah£]
54    *MUS:       [AA ]H::
55    %com:    Musa looks to Lucky, Nelly shakes her head
56    *LUC:    yah
57    *DIT:    yeah
58    *MUS:    AAHH then: you must know we are in trou[ble]
59    %com:    Musa looks to Ditte at 'you'
60    *DIT:                                          [mm ]
61    *MUS:    .hh uhm so: (.) the question is most of our partners
62             don't have bank accounts
63    %com:    Musa turns to Liv at turn end, Liv meets his gaze
64    *DIT:    [mmhm]
65    *LIV:    [mhm ]
66    %com:    Liv shakes her head briefly, Musa then looks to Ditte
67    *MUS:    so if you give them money where do you think they will
68             be keeping it
69    %com:    Ditte shakes her head very pronounced at 'keeping it'
70    *DIT:    yeah
71    *MUS:    uhm:: [so::              ]
72    *DIT:          [(that/I) would like]
73    *MUS:    that's what then:: it addresses the issue of:
74    %com:    Musa gazes at Liv at 'then'
75             it will still have to be administered and controlled here
76    %com:    Liv starts to type on her laptop at turn end
```

Musa claims the interactional floor and takes a clear stance against Liv's suggestion to pass on managing finances to the affiliates. Musa then proceeds to list a number of reasons why "giv[ing] people money" (39) is not a good idea – it is an "issue of capacity" (41) and not having a bank account (43, 62). He then describes a specific situation where Nelly[33] has "30 000" (47) in cash at home (51), which would mean

[33] Using Nelly in this example should not be taken as criticism of Nelly. It is characteristic of how Musa talks - he would often employ co-present participants' names in his examples of people. This is never treated as an offence, as much as displayed conduct can reveal.

"trouble" (58). Musa starts to close this conversational teaching sequence with "so […] most of our partners[34] don't have bank accounts" (61-62). In line 74, we learn what Musa's proposition for Ditte's initial question is – to have the money "administered and controlled" from the Swazi Democracy office. Note also that when explicating his stance, Musa looks to Liv (63, 74), which indicates that he has marked Liv as the situationally chosen 'learner'.

This illustrates how Musa displays his interpretation of Nordic volunteers' turns as instances of low epistemic status which need attending to. This does not mean that his assessment is correct nor that the volunteers need to necessarily agree with being interactionally categorized as learners. Note for instance how Ditte subtly rejects being situationally cast as the 'learner' by producing acknowledgment tokens at various points throughout Musa's 'teaching' which indicate her alignment with what Musa is suggesting. Comparing her responses to Liv's almost non-existent acknowledgment tokens, Ditte can be read to display her high epistemic status concerning the subject matter and relative to Liv. This interpretation is further reinforced by Ditte's initial suggestion that the money should be managed centrally, which aligns with Musa's position. Regardless, even Ditte's alignment with Musa does not encourage him to cut short his conversational teaching, which in fact goes on for several more minutes. Due to the sheer length of this sequence, the extended version of this transcript is provided in Appendix K.

The overall organizational structure of this sequence can be described as follows. First, speaker A (Ditte) opens the sequence with a call to action, which is received at first by a brief answer with a positive valence by speaker B (Musa). Liv takes up Ditte's opening as a discussion and makes an assertive epistemic claim. Liv's statement is treated by Musa as evidence of low epistemic status, which opens up a side-sequence with conversational teaching. In the 'body' of the conversational teaching sequence, Musa describes a real-life example of what would happen if an affiliate partner has 30 000 in cash at home, followed by a summary statement with the relevant point as the 'learnable' – affiliate partners do not have bank accounts, thus the money needs to be managed centrally. Musa's conversational teaching goes on for several more minutes where he also elaborates on his vision for how to manage finances, and places the issue with managing finances within a broader context of development work. Towards the end of this sequence (see transcript in Appendix K), once Musa has summarized his action steps, Ditte takes the floor, paraphrases Musa's point, and expresses her agreement. After this she produces a new sequence opener.

The next example, Transcript 5, is taken from the final planning meeting on Day 5

[34] That is, affiliates of Swazi Democracy.

and serves to illustrate the qualitative change in conversational teaching over time. Specifically, how Musa's orientation to Nordic volunteers' as speakers with low epistemic status does not change over time, despite their displays of gained epistemic access. By the time of the final planning meeting, the donor application templates had been largely written up, and the board of Swazi Democracy had approved of the general direction of the new project. What remained was clarifying some loose ends, which was the purpose of the final planning meeting.

The exchange in Transcript 5 takes place half-way into the meeting and is part of a longer conversation on which political campaign themes should the new project entail. Prior to the exchange in Transcript 9, the Nordic volunteers had proposed several ideas, some of which were accepted and some of which were not. Either way, Musa would respond with a conversational teaching sequence. In this example, Ditte makes one more proposal, formulated as a question, which Musa responds to with conversational teaching that contains several of the listed "types" of conversational teaching - a brief expression of support, an extended description of the issue at hand, and placing the issue in a broader context of meaning. Although some of the volunteers seem to subtly reject being cast as 'leaners', they continue to be treated as co-interactants with low(er) epistemic status.

The example starts with Ditte suggesting one more theme for a political campaign. She formulates it as a question that also contains an epistemic claim to knowledge. Ditte's proposal is nevertheless treated by Musa as relevant for conversational teaching.

Figure 8: Final planning meeting, conversational teaching

Transcript 5

```
%com:   Ditte is leaned back in her chair, arms crossed and
        looks at Musa; Liv is typing; Martha, Nelly and Lucky
        are observing
*DIT:   what about women (1.1.) domestic violence
%com:   Musa lifts his index finger in the air during pause
*(0.5)
%com:   Musa drops his arm
*MUS:   [you have my] vote
%com:   while speaking, Musa turns away from Ditte and faces
        Lucky
*NEL:   [(         )]
%com:   Ditte leans forward to type; Liv starts to
        type; Martha makes a note
*DIT:   [he he]
*NEL:   [yies ]
*MUS:   domestic we run a campaign on domestic violence
%com:   while talking, Musa slowly reorients his body towards
        Liv and then Ditte
*NEL:   mhm
*LIV:   yeah
(0.5)
%com:   Nordic volunteers are typing, while Swazi partners
        observe them
*MUS:   you have my vote there
(0.5)
%com:   volunteers are typing, Musa looks at Ditte
*NEL:   mhm
*MUS:   I can tell you it is a [it it]
*NEL:                          [yeah ]
%com:   Ditte stops typing, leans back in her chair, Liv types
*MUS:   it has a potential [of ] (.) coming up
*DIT:                      [mhm]
*NEL:                      [mm ]
(1.3)
%com:   Musa looks at Ditte, Ditte nods and looks at laptop screen
*MUS:   almost a- [ev::-]
*NEL:             [EV   ]ERY week (.) [every week]
%com:   everyone looks towards Nelly
*MUS:                                 [some      ]one is
%com:   Musa looks back towards Ditte, Nelly looks to Musa
*LUC:   mmhm
*DIT:   yea:h yo- you open the newspa[per       ]
*LIV:                                [£yeah heh£]
*MUS:   husband has killed [his wi::fe  ]
*DIT:                      [yeah that's:] (0.5) crazy
*MUS:   even the childre::n (0.5) and (.) clearly
        government is not responding
*DIT:   no
*NEL:   mkm
(0.9)
%com:   Musa and Liv look at each other; Ditte looks at
        laptop screen; Nelly crosses her arms and mutters
        to herself
```

In line 27, Ditte suggests domestic violence against women as a potential theme for a political campaign. The act of making a proposal suggests that Ditte is operating on the basis of some degree of knowledge on the relevance of this matter. At the same time, by formulating it as a question, she can be seen attributing a higher epistemic status and epistemic authority (consistent with the examples in Section

6.1.2) to the Swazi partners, based on the direction of her gaze.

Musa's immediate response includes a brief supportive answer - he raises his index finger and produces a positive response: "you have my vote" (31). All three volunteers then begin to type on their laptops or write in their notebooks. Musa does not wait for the volunteers to finish writing, but maintains the interactional floor. He repeats and summarizes his answer – that they will run a domestic violence campaign (39) and that he supports the idea (47). The volunteers continue to be engaged in typing/writing and do not engage with Musa. Seemingly not deterred by this, Musa self-selects to take the floor again by prefacing the onset of a conversational teaching (51) (which he often does also with the use of 'you know', 'because' etc.), followed by expanding on the potential of this idea (54, 59). Both Nelly and Ditte acknowledge Musa's point in overlap (55, 56).

Next, a rare instance of a collaborative conversational teaching takes place. First, Nelly joins in on expanding on the facts related to the theme (60). Musa seems to acknowledge Nelly's contribution by continuing his turn in a way (62) that comes across as a meaningful extension of Nelly's 'every week'. Finally, in line 64, Lucky also adds an acknowledgment token. In this sense, all three Swazi staff members treat this topic as knowledge that needs to be shared with the Nordic volunteers, which suggests the perception of the latter as speakers with lower epistemic status. Considering that the theme was first suggested by Ditte, it is marked that these facts need to be presented at all.

The response to this collaborative conversational teaching is also notable. Musa is not able to finish his turn as Ditte makes an epistemic claim to shared knowledge by stating that "yeah you open the newspaper" (65). By mentioning the source where this knowledge may be acquired, she can be seen highlighting her equal epistemic status. At turn end, Liv produces in overlap an acknowledgment token "yeah" with laughter voice (66). While Liv's reaction is too brief to be conclusive, it does indicate some form of recognition of the knowledge presented.

Even though neither Musa nor Nelly seem to explicitly talk about newspaper content, Musa's next turn sounds like a newspaper headline – "husband killed his wife" (67) and "even the children" (69). This suggests that Musa takes Ditte's contribution into consideration, but does not acknowledge the epistemic claim it may have entailed because he can then be seen continuing his train of thought. Musa's first 'headline' is overlapped by Ditte who produces an acknowledgment token 'yeah' and adds an evaluation 'that's crazy' (68). The alignment Ditte's response displays is similar to how Ditte seemed to subtly reject being cast as a situationally chosen learner in Transcript 4-2. In other words, she does not outright state that she already knows the presented knowledge nor does she produce a change-of-state token 'oh', which Heritage (1984) considers a marker for expressing the receipt of new

information. In other words, one way of reading Ditte's displays of alignment is that what is being shared is not news to her. This needs to be understood in the context of how Nordic volunteers, including Ditte, typically react to Musa's conversational teaching – mostly only with brief acknowledgment tokens such as 'mhm', if at all (as for instance in Transcript 5-2 to follow). In this context, any extended acknowledgment tokens by the Nordic volunteers, such as in Transcript 4-2 and Transcript 5, immediately stand out. At the same time, in the absence of active engagement, I am not arguing that the volunteers otherwise accept being positioned as learners. In such instances, they may indeed be taking in knowledge that they do not have, or simply allowing Musa to finish his long train(s) of thought. Regardless of the function which we may attribute to Nordic volunteers' (minimal) responses, what holds most empirical weight is that Ditte and Liv's contributions continue to be treated as signs of lower epistemic status, because Musa simply continues the conversational teaching.

In this example he places domestic violence in a broader context of meaning related to the lack of government response (69, 70). Ditte once again aligns with Musa with a brief 'no' (71), which mirrors his negative evaluation of the government. Nelly also mirrors Musa's negative evaluation, which supports the interpretation that Ditte's response may indeed be a subtle epistemic claim.

During a brief pause (73), Ditte disengages and starts to look at her laptop screen. Musa and Liv on the other hand make eye contact, after which Liv takes the floor and supports Musa:

Transcript 5-2

```
77    *LIV:   that's a powerful one actually
78    *MUS:   and there's [mor]ality to it (0.8)
79    *NEL:                [mhm]
80    *MUS:   there's compassion when you raise it (0.5)
81            people are going to sympa[thize] with the topic
82    *DIT:                           [yeah ]
83    %com:   Ditte is continously looking at her screen;
84            Musa and Liv have eye contact
85    *MUS:   ah the victims:: (.) even then you are
86            actually unearthing a real issue
87            it's not even an issue of (0.6) you are just bringing
88            it's a real issue (1.0) and that has not enjoyed
89    %com:   Ditte looks at Musa in the pause, puts hand over mouth
90            and nods slightly; Musa continues to look at Liv
91    *       much attention (0.6) even from civil society organisations
92    *DIT:   [mhm]
93    *LUC:   [mm ]
94    (0.7)
95    *MUS:   uhm (.) and it points to the core (1.1)
96    %com:   Musa makes a pointing gesture during pause
97    *       of the patriarchy of the regime (1.7)
98    %com:   Musa looks at Liv, Ditte looks at screen and continues to nod
99    *       so:: (0.7) yeah (.) for me (.) YES
100   (0.6)
101   %com:   Ditte places hands on the keyboard and smiles
102   *DIT:   [£hmhm£ ]
103   *MUS:   [I would] vote for you on that one
```

Liv states: “that’s a powerful one actually” (77), but it is not clear what “that” refers to. Regardless, by formulating her statement as a declarative, Liv can be seen asserting her epistemic status. Although it is not clear what Liv means, Musa treats it as meaningful as he latches on to Liv’s point and continues the thought: “and there’s morality to it” (78). In this sense, while he seems to acknowledge Liv’s contribution, he displays a continued interest in expanding on the relevance of domestic violence as a campaign theme. In response, Ditte produces a couple of acknowledgment tokens verbally (82, 92) and non-verbally (90), which are illustrative of how conversational teaching is typically responded to.

In line 99, Musa begins his turn with the summarizing ‘so’, and repeats that he supports the theme of domestic violence, which is the same point he made already in line 31 (Transcript 5). Ditte responds to it by placing her hands on the keyboard and producing a few laughter tokens (102). Ditte’s response can be taken as the ‘sequence closing third’ (Schegloff, 2007), and which also works to construct Musa’s “YES” (99) as a laughable. One very obvious reading of this laughter response could be that Musa’s support of the idea had been too long-winded, and perhaps unnecessarily so, or it could also be taken as another attempt to mirror Musa, this time matching his enthusiasm.

This second example of a conversational teaching sequence demonstrated how a sequence is launched by a proposal formulated as a question, which can be interpreted to entail an epistemic claim to knowledge. It is at first responded to with

a brief answer with a positive valence (Musa's support of the idea), and then with conversational teaching. Musa bolsters his support of the campaign theme with further facts (every week there is a domestic violence case) and places it in a broader context of meaning (domestic violence is a real issue that has a morality to it and which reveals the regime's patriarchy). I argue that Musa presenting all of this knowledge can be taken as an attempt to create shared knowledge with the Nordic volunteers. However, it seems to take place at the exclusion of any displays of epistemic access (that is, degree of knowledge) made by the Nordic volunteers. In other words, regardless of the Nordic volunteers' contributions along the way, they continue to be treated as speakers with low(er) epistemic status which warrants any conversational teaching. Originally, Ditte simply proposed to focus on domestic violence as a campaign theme. Musa's response, on the other hand, contains both a display of support as well as knowledge which the original sequence opener did not indicate was needed.

Finally, I want to take the reader back in time to show that Musa's orientation to the implicit goal of working towards a shared body of knowledge is indeed a conscious one. To this end, I analyze an extract taken from the end of the first monitoring meeting on Day 1, which the reader should be somewhat familiar with (see my analysis of the participation framework in Section 6.1.1.). In this case, however, we look at how the meeting is ended.

Figure 9: Monitoring meeting 1, justifying future conversational teaching

Transcript 6

```
10    *MUS:    but yah no: (.) thanks for the input today
11    %com:    Musa looks to Ditte while talking
12    *DIT:    yeah thank you
13    %com:    Ditte looks away from Musa while talking
14    *MUS:    we hope we weren't confusing
15    %com:    Musa looks at Liv while talking, who looks back
16    *LIV:    [NO:: NO:: ]
17    *MUS:    [((laughs))]
18    %com:    Ditte looks at Liv while packing up;
19             everyone else looks at Musa
20    *LIV:    no I think it's [more clear            ]
21    *DIT:                    [£a lot of information£]
22    *LIV:    [yeah       ]
23    *MAR:    [if anything] yeah it's a lot more £chlear [now£]
24    %com:    Martha and Liv look at each other while Martha speaks
25    *MUS:                                                [heh ]
26    *DIT:    [heh heh]
27    %com:    Ditte continues to pack her things, Musa looks to Ditte
28    *MUS:    [eeh but] in the thank you very much eh we are going to
29             have you here for almost a whole week right
30    %com:    Ditte continues to pack but looks towards Musa at turn end
31    *DIT:    yeah (.) yeah
32    (2.3)
33    %com:    Musa continues to look at Ditte, who is still packing;
34             everyone else is looking at Musa
35    *MUS:    I think we will: (      )
36    %com:    Ditte looks at Musa, leaning forward on the table
37    *DIT:    we will (       )
38    *MUS:    it will help us understand more the work we do and we
39    %com:    Musa looks across the participants while talking
40             will try and help you understand what we do and what
41             you [do over at]
42    *DIT:        [yeah      ]
43    *MUS:    [country] .hhh uhm and see how far we go
44    %com:    Musa looks up at Ditte at 'see'
45    *DIT:    yeah
46    *LIV:    yeah
47    *MUS:    and when you are going to SWIM I am SURE
48    %com:    Musa looks all over the meeting room while talking
49             then we'll be positive
50    %com:    Musa looks towards Liv at 'we'll';
51             Liv, Ditte and Musa laugh in overlap after turn end
52    *MUS:    heh heh he he he heh
53    %com:    Ditte looks towards Liv at turn end;
54             everyone else is still looking at Musa
55    *DIT:    yeah (2.6) yeah and then: (1.5) yeah (.) so
56    *LIV:    we will see you Monday I guess
```

It is lines 38-49 that I want to focus on specifically. Here Musa frames their shared time together in Swaziland as one where they learn to understand what each of them do. Musa specifically says that they "will try and help you understand what we do" (38, 40), which clearly substantiates the analyzes I have made in the two analytical sections in this chapter. Namely, Musa's statement suggests that working towards a shared body of knowledge is indeed, at least from Musa's perspective, a conscious goal.

Furthermore, in lines 47-49, Musa adds “and when you are going to SWIM I am SURE we’ll be positive”. This statement needs to be unpacked for its significance. First, the use of ‘when’ introduces a conditional clause which correlates ‘swimming’, in all likelihood in a metaphorical sense, with ‘being positive’. Second, ‘swimming’ can be taken as a metaphor for having acquired a new skill or knowledge of how to move one’s body in order to move forward in water, which could refer to a learning process ahead for the Nordic volunteers. Third, the future time suggested by ‘when’ indicates that Musa does not view the volunteers as ‘swimmers’ just yet. Fourth, if being able to ‘swim’ is seen as positive, then not being able to swim can be considered negative. In short, what Musa can be seen saying in metaphorical terms is that, from his perspective, the Nordic volunteers have some learning to do before they can stand on their own feet during this project visit. Musa’s statement also has the effect of interactionally categorizing the Nordic volunteers as co-interactants with low epistemic status. This perception, as I have shown in this analytical section, continues to be “maintained” throughout majority of the meetings.

6.2.4. Summary

In this analytical section I presented the second interactional method for working towards a shared body of knowledge. This takes the form of conversational teaching, where a situationally chosen teacher, primarily Musa, perceives a lack of knowledge in a co-interactant and takes on the task of attending to it. In this section I analyzed two illustrative examples to explore the epistemic nature of these exchanges and highlight their overall sequential organization. On the basis of these examples, I argued that Musa consistently, and consciously, treats the Nordic volunteers to be needing conversational teaching, regardless of their epistemic claims or subtle rejections of being ascribed as situationally chosen learners.

6.3. Discussion of analytical observations

In this first analytical chapter, I aimed to answer the question of how the participants can be seen to work towards a shared body of knowledge. Through several rounds of engaging with the data, I observed two interactional methods which I argued help the participants more or less explicitly to do so.

First, I observed that the Nordic volunteers typically open sequences by eliciting some kind of input from the Swazi partners as part of their joint institutional tasks. Under the guise of this, I argued, is the added benefit of acquiring knowledge which can be seen to help the volunteers with formulating a new project proposal together with members of Swazi Democracy. Second, I observed how the Swazi partners, with Musa at the helm, orient to the Nordic volunteers as speakers with low(er) epistemic status, thus warranting what I called 'conversational teaching'. That is, verbalizing knowledge that goes beyond the input solicited by a Nordic volunteer. These analytical observations suggest that perceptions of an unequal distribution of knowledge can shape the kind of discursive practices that emerge in a transient social configuration.

I provide a more concise discussion of the contribution of these analytical observations to transient social configurations in Chapter 11. At this point I find it relevant to discuss how I have portrayed the unequal distribution of knowledge to concern two groups as a whole – volunteers from Nordic Solidarity and staff members from Swazi Democracy - although there are many participants in the data that often do not take center stage, or claim the interactional floor at all. What does the data reveal about their epistemic statuses then or the way in which they contribute to shaping emerging discursive practices? Does their lack of active engagement relate to their low(er) epistemic status, linguistic competence issues, or does it relate to group internal agreements about who carries the meeting forward?

There is no conclusive answer to these questions on the basis of displayed conduct alone, although some observations can be made. Indeed, in vast majority of the examples that I analyze in this chapter entail an exchange between primarily Ditte and Musa. While Liv and Martha do sometimes claim the interactional floor as part of moving forward different institutional tasks, and even more prominently in smaller configurations, the same cannot be said for Lucky and Nelly. On the basis of this simple observation alone, there is indeed evidence to suggest that in the Swazi Democracy group, Musa is put forward as the participant to speak on behalf of Lucky and Nelly, for whatever reason. What this means about Nelly and Lucky's epistemic statuses relative to the Nordic volunteers, or their linguistic competence to be able to participate, remains a matter for speculation. In this sense, it is not just the perceptions of knowledge asymmetries which seem to contribute to the kind of

participation frameworks that the group as a whole can be seen to establish, but the ways in which the two groups internally organize who speaks on behalf of the rest may also play a role in this process.

Finally, it is notable that conversational teaching is not treated as a transgression or rejected more explicitly. I would argue that there is an element of conversational teaching being useful for the Nordic volunteers personally as well as for the tasks which they carry out together with the Swazi partners. As institutional representatives, they may indeed not readily admit to not having certain kind of knowledge. At the same time, the volunteers' institutional role, in the way that it is talked into being, does not seem to be hinged on a high epistemic status anyway, whereas the same cannot be said of the Swazi partners who are required to provide input. In this sense, when Musa produces conversational teaching, he can be seen following the 'grooves' established in the participation framework which hinges on an unequal distribution of knowledge. In this sense, conversational teaching does not momentarily reconfigure the participant framework, as Keppler and Luckmann (1991) suggest in their conceptualization of the term, because knowledge asymmetries may already be built into the participation frameworks that emerge in this transient social configuration.

7

7. Participant perceptions of roles and knowledge asymmetries

In this chapter, I analyze participant accounts in an attempt to answer the question – *how does the perception of knowledge asymmetries influence participants' understanding of their role within the transient social configuration?* This analytical focus emerged inductively from engaging with the interview data and aligns with my observations of the participants' displayed conduct, as analyzed in Chapter 6. However, in this chapter, I focus exclusively on what participant accounts reveal with respect to knowledge asymmetries.

First, in Section 7.1, I explore how, prior to going to Swaziland, the Nordic volunteers demarcate what they need to know as institutional representatives, and what they see the Swazi partners needing to know. In other words, the volunteers seem to go into the project visit already with the idea that knowledge asymmetries will be central to organizing their work with Swazi Democracy. In Section 7.2, I investigate how the Nordic volunteers' perceptions of their role develops after having carried out the project visit. As a result of some of their experiences during the project visit, the volunteers construct a narrative of inadequacy as a result of their lack of knowledge which prevented them from performing according to their own expectations in some areas. In Section 7.3, I explore the Swazi partners' experience of having to work with and adjust to multiple delegations from Nordic Solidarity over the course of a project, and the role they themselves play in addressing what they perceive as inadequate knowledge on the part of these delegations. Finally, in Section 7.4, I cover a discussion that took place during the feedback session with the Nordic volunteers. Here the Nordic volunteers make the argument that those who are seen as more knowledgeable, that is, the Swazi partners, should take on a more active role during project visits and guide new volunteers through the process.

Taken together, the analyses of the interview data reveal the participants' normative orientations to who should know what and the kind of role they can and should then take on during the project visit.

7.1. 'They're the ones who knows, right'[35]

In this section, I explore how the volunteers evoke knowledge asymmetries as a characteristic of their upcoming project visit to Swaziland and which is seen to be institutionally justified.

I begin with an example from my pre-interview with Ditte, where she can be seen constructing the Swazi partners as more knowledgeable than herself, which simultaneously alludes to the idea that someone in her role does not need to be more knowledgeable than the Swazi partners. The exchange in Extract 1 takes place towards the end of the interview. Prior to it, I had asked Ditte whether there are any challenges she expects to encounter or areas where she thinks things will go well. It was intended as a speculative question to inquire about the expectations that she may have going into the visit. At first, Ditte responds with a clarification question whether she should think about both, which makes me reconsider my strategy and ask her to focus on her 'hopes' first.

Interview Extract 1

```
1   KAT:  what are your hopes
2   DIT:  my hopes (.) is (3.3.) that (.) that we can […] have some (1.0)
3         really good (.) and eh (.) that we have time ((chuckles)) and long
4         talks about what will actually like (.) how do we make sure that
5         Swazi Democracy will not be as the other organization and that we
6         move forward and
7   KAT:  mhm
8   DIT:  I really hope that (1.4) that this will be (.) both a challenge and
9         my I hope that (.) they have a lot of ideas […] so that we can
10        develop a good (.) project pretty easily
11  KAT:  yeah
12  DIT:  together (.) eh (1.1) that has some perspective ha ha
13  KAT:  mhm
14  DIT:  ehm (1.5) but there's also (.) one of my biggest fears like if (.)
15        they don't have good ideas I have no idea (.) what I should do
16        ((chuckles)) (.) eh because I don't I (.) like they're the ones who
17        knows, right
```

Ditte's hope is to have "time" (3) for "long talks" (4) and move Swazi Democracy forward in a way that they do not end up like "the other organization"[36] (5). In this sense, Ditte sees her role as assuring a way forward that works for Swazi Democracy. Another one of Ditte's hopes is that the Swazi partners have "a lot of ideas" (9) for the new project. However, she ties it together with one of her "biggest fears" (14) which is that the partners do not have good ideas, in which case she reveals she would "have no idea what I should do" (15). She then proclaims: "they're the ones who knows, right" (16-17).

[35] I have not grammatically corrected this statement with respect to subject-verb correlation. However, I have added the comma to indicate the upward inflection in 'right'.

[36] The other organization which Nordic Solidarity collaborates with in Swaziland was at the time of the project visit being held accountable for organizational issues.

Ditte constructs her role to be about assuring that Swazi Democracy gets a project "that has some perspective" (12) but also sees it as Swazi Democracy's role to have good ideas for the new project. By stating that she would not have any idea what to do and that she views the partners as knowledgeable, she constructs herself to be less knowledgeable regarding coming up with a new project. In this sense, Ditte can be seen viewing knowledge asymmetries between herself and the Swazi partners as one characteristic of the upcoming project visit. In the process, she reveals her normative expectations around which participant can and should take on what role, depending on her perception of knowledge states.

Martha takes a similar position as she does not view it as her role to have answers to what the new project needs. Prior to the next extract, I had asked Martha about her understanding of the political struggle in Swaziland, which sets Martha up as a knowledgeable participant in my interview. After she provides her perspective on the situation, I ask the following question:

Interview Extract 2

KAT: and how do you feel about that aspect of (.) this kind of visit actually that there's a lot of political (.) power or games going on (.) in addition to what you guys are trying to achieve
MAR: yeah (.) I mean (1.8) uh:: (.) the thing is that (.) uh:: (2.4) like it's not really up to me
KAT: mhm
MAR: to (.) like (.) provide the answer (1.8) to that (.) I think that's something that (.) our local (.) partners know best because (1.4) they've lived there all their lives that know what (0.9) can happen or (.) or what (.) what the consequences are (0.9) they have (.) I probably a lot better ideas of how to reach (.)
KAT: mhm
MAR: ehm (.) the Swazi population (1.4) and I guess (1.5) I see myself more as like somebody coming down to offer maybe some fresh perspectives like I obviously my ideas are welcome as well (.) but (1.4) ehm (.) it's more about (1.6) making sure (.) that they're able to (0.9) do these activities and (.) yeah so whether that's through what we've been doing recently is (.) capacity building the organization to make sure that they are more (0.9) efficient and they're able to like the donor money more efficiently
KAT: mhm
MAR: to like yeah just (.) applying on their behalf you know
KAT: mhm mhm
MAR: it's like yeah (1.6) like I don't wanna be seen as like somebody going down there with all the answers cause I have none ((chuckles))

What is striking is the amount of hesitation markers in Martha's initial reaction (4) before she expresses that "it's not really up to me to provide the answer to that" (5, 7). The hesitation suggests that the way in which I formulate my question and thereby continue to position her as knowledgeable, prompts her to take a stance that may come across as somehow marked. Indeed, her response speaks volumes about how she does not view it as part of her role to be knowledgeable about local politics, which for hear means 'having answers'. She qualifies her position by constructing the Swazi partners as more knowledgeable: "our local partners know the best because they've

lived there all their lives" (9). This is in alignment with Ditte's (Interview Extract 1) who also constructs the Swazi partners as the knowledgeable ones and who she anticipates to have ideas.

Martha goes on to outline what she does see as part of her role: "offer maybe some fresh perspectives" (14-15), "making sure that they're able to do these activities" (16-17) and manage "the donor money more efficiently" (20). All of this entails some kind of knowledge, but more "organizational knowledge" (Mawdsley, Townsend, & Porter, 2002, p. 8) on application procedures, training etc. rather than knowledge about local conditions. Indeed, as far as 'answers' are concerned, Martha's position is – "I have none" (25).

It is not just that both Ditte and Martha declare knowledge asymmetries to be a key part of the upcoming project visit. In doing so they can also be seen evoking development ideas related to "local knowledge" (Mawdsley et al., 2002, p. 8) or "indigenous knowledge" (Chambers, 1997) which have brought along a range of 'participatory' approaches within development (see description of development history in Section 2.2). Underlying these approaches is the desire to include local people and their situated knowledges into the decision-making around development projects so as to avoid top-down development interventions that disregard local needs and ideas (Mawdsley et al., 2002, p. 7). In this context, Ditte and Martha's claims to not have any ideas can be taken not just as a reflection of their genuine lack of knowledge about and experience with politics in Swaziland, but potentially also as an ideological position which sets up a particular role distribution tied to knowledge states.

Liv can also be read to distribute roles based on who she perceives to need what kind of knowledge. Quite literally, Liv responds to my question after a moment of thinking with 'I think that our role is'.

Interview Extract 3

```
KAT:  so what do you think like given your (.) your particular background
      in human rights and all of that what do you think about the whole
      (.) situations that's there and what you're going to be doing
(1.1)
LIV:  ehm (1.4) I think that (.) our role (.) is is cause it's really good
      to have a knowledge of international politics and development but
      (.) this is very more specific and I think it's (.) a lot about (.)
      just go there (.) and just listen to them
KAT:  mhm
LIV:  and try to structure their thoughts it's not like I'm an expert on
      (.) project management
```

My question puts Liv forward as a knowledgeable participant, which, similarly to Martha, prompts her to take brief moment to think and position herself differently from how I had implicitly done. Similarly to Martha and Ditte, Liv also draws a line at needing to know what the Swazi political movement needs. Their role is to "just go

there and just listen to them" (8) "and try to structure their thoughts" (10). Liv can be seen evoking the idea of 'local knowledge' of the Swazi partners versus her technical/organizational knowledge which only entails knowing how to recontextualize ("structure" (10)) local knowledge through 'listening' (8) into a coherent project (Mosse, 2004, p. 95; Mosse, 2013, p. 229). This is a central theme that arises and is discussed in Part II, which is why I do not discuss this further here. At this point it is enough to argue that Liv appeals to the idea of specialized knowledges. Curiously, she then goes on to claim that she is nevertheless no "expert" (10).

All three volunteers seem to demarcate 'territories of information' (Kamio, 1997) or 'territories of self' (Goffman, 1981) between themselves and the Swazi partners, which can be interpreted to be ideologically informed. Mawdsley et al. (2002) argue that "in theory", combining technical/organizational knowledge with local knowledges, "should be able to promote more efficient and effective development activities" (2002, p. 7). From this perspective, a combination of specialized knowledges may be sufficient to carry out a project visit. To what degree this applies in this case is beyond the scope of this study. However, my intention in making links with development literature is to suggest that the Nordic volunteers' topicalization and subsequent justification of knowledge asymmetries, or specialized knowledges, can potentially be seen as common to development work more broadly and not unique to this setting alone.

To sum up, going into the project visit, all three volunteers make a distinction between their technical/organizational knowledge and the local knowledge of the Swazi partners. In doing so, they evoke knowledge asymmetries, or perhaps even specialized knowledges, as central to their roles and as a key characteristic to the upcoming project visit. However, a different interpretation could see them as justifying their lack of knowledge about local conditions from an institutional perspective by appealing to the idea of specialized knowledges. In either case, the pre-project visit interviews with the Nordic volunteers reveal their normative expectations around role distribution relative to perceptions of knowledge asymmetries.

7.2. 'I didn't know enough'

In post-interviews with the Nordic volunteers, narratives of inadequacy emerge. Even as the volunteers consider the project visit successful as far as having met deadlines, the actual lived experienced seemed to have highlighted their self-perceived inadequacy as a result of their claimed lack of knowledge. In this section I argue how the project visit experiences force the volunteers to reconsider what is needed from

someone in their role and whether they in fact had the necessary knowledge to carry out their tasks according to their ideas about this role.

Liv adds a new aspect to what she sees as relevant to someone in her role during the project visit. Namely, being critical of the project ideas presented, which she claims she was not able to do. In Extract 4 from the post-interview with Liv, I enquire about the presentation about the project visit which the volunteers had done for the Swaziland Group once back at the Nordic Solidarity headquarters. First, Liv describes how it went, but then makes relevant another knowledge asymmetry between the volunteers and two key figures in the organization – M and Gatekeeper[37].

Interview Extract 4

```
1   KAT:  how did that presentation go otherwise to the rest of the team
2   LIV:  that went fine (.) M just asked some questions and that was fine (.)
3         and then he said that about the media training (.) today they will
4         meet with Gatekeeper (.) so it will be good o hear from her because
5         THEY are the experienced ones (.) so (.) they have also followed
6         Swazi Democracy for a longer period (.) we need that I think hehe
7   KAT:  it will help you to put some edge into your proposal
8   LIV:  exactly (.) because we were just open (.) to ideas (.) like that
9         sounds good (.) but we need to be also (.) critical of they say (.)
10        I think
11  KAT:  do you feel like you were critical enough (.) given the information
12        you had
13  LIV:  yes (.) but maybe I didn't know enough to be THAT critical towards
14        the suggestions because (.) they are also experts (.) in their own
15        projects (.) so (.) I thought if you think this is important then
16        maybe it is important (.) but we're not professionals (.) and maybe
17        that is a problem in the whole industry
```

Liv puts value on the input from two Nordic Solidarity members. First she describes how M had notified the volunteers that media training, which is an idea that became part of the new project, had been part of past projects with Swazi Democracy. This is something the volunteers did not know about, Liv reveals. Second, Liv thinks that the Gatekeeper, who the other two Nordic volunteers were meeting that same day as my interview with Liv, would be able to give valuable input for their donor applications. She explains that "it will be good to hear from her (Gatekeeper) because THEY are the experienced ones" (4-5), that is, members who know more about Swazi Democracy as a result of their cumulative experience. Finally, she adds that "we need that I think" (6). In other words, Liv emphasizes that knowledge asymmetries are present also after the project visit, and especially relative to those who she sees as more seasoned members of Nordic Solidarity.

I reformulate Liv's point as seeing the two members' input as useful for writing a better project proposal (7), which seems to be the right interpretation as Liv responds with "exactly" (8). However, she critiques that in her view "we were just open to ideas"

[37] M is one of the founders of Nordic Solidarity and a life-long activist in South Africa. Gatekeeper is my first point of contact with the organization who gave me contacts to potential working groups to follow in Nordic Solidarity.

(8) while they should have been more critical of the ideas presented (9), presumable those presented by the Swazi partners. I thought this was an interesting statement, so I asked how Liv assessed their ability to be critical in hindsight (11-12). Liv admits that they were critical but that they "didn't know enough" (13) to be more critical. She seems to not regard this as a problem as she maintains that the Swazi partners are the "experts in their own projects" (14-15), and that she sought to trust when the Swazi partners thought an idea is important (15-16). Nevertheless, she frames the problem with not being critical enough as a problem within the industry, where people are volunteers and "not professionals" (16).

In this interview, Liv maintains that the knowledge asymmetry was present during the project visit which prevented her, at the very least, from being more critical. Regardless of this, she does not portray it as a problem since she aimed to respect the expertise of the Swazi partners, which aligns with my interpretation that the participation frameworks also entail considerations of epistemic authority (as discussed in Section 6.1). However, by claiming not to be a professional, Liv can be seen perceiving herself as having performed below what she could perhaps expect from someone in her institutional role.

There is also an instance which brings Martha to discuss the limitations of the extent of their knowledge on local matters, and equally, the relevance of this knowledge to their work. This comes up when I ask her whether she felt she was on the same page with the people she worked with[38]:

Interview Extract 5

KAT: do you feel like you're on the same page with the girls and Swazi Democracy

MAR: I'm not sure about the Swazi Democracy stuff (.) it kind of goes back to that (.) that we are new (.) and they keep seeing new faces in the same project (.) and then (.) constantly having to kind of start (.) in a way from the beginning again (.) what is maybe more beneficial is (.) if you have a good relationship with the project staff (.) so you can continue working with that (.) and bring the project forward (.) there are things that maybe we can't pick up that (.) if we had been involved since the beginning of the project (.) that's something we could have thought about (.) like (.) like having a car for example (.) to pick up pamphlets (.) rather than having them printed and having them taken on the bus (.) like where anyone can read (.) ah (.) DUH (.) of course like (.) I didn't even think of that

Martha immediately expresses her concern about the impact that "new faces in the same project" (4) has on Swazi Democracy. Namely that "there are things that maybe we can't pick up that if we had been involved since the beginning of the project" (9-11) they would be more aware of. Martha then makes the example of the relevance

[38] I use the term 'girls' in my question as that is one category label that the volunteers use to refer to each other in the plural.

of having a car in Swaziland as part of safety considerations as a political activist (12-13). Martha summarizes not having thought about it as a "duh" moment (14), which is a North American popular culture expression for pointing out an obvious stupidity[39]. With this example, Martha underscores the relevance of knowledge about local matters for someone in her role, which she perceives having been limited in her case. Martha does not point to any industry conditions for her lack of knowledge, as Liv seems to have done, but the transience of volunteers in Nordic Solidarity which she claims makes it difficult to develop and maintain "a good relationship with the project staff" (7), presumably with the Swazi staff members, and which creates knowledge gaps between the Swazi staff and any new volunteers. Similarly to Liv then, Martha seems to have realized the consequence of knowledge asymmetries in formulating and moving forward projects. Martha's example is also illustrative of not "knowing one's own ignorance" (Hannerz, 1992, p. 45), which is argued to be an issue in growing conditions of diversity (Blommert & Rampton, 2011, p. 7). In other words, one may be operating without even realizing that one does not have the knowledge that may be necessary in a given situation.

In contrast to Martha and Liv, Ditte's account post-project visit stands out. She claims to not have learned anything new, having visited Swazi Democracy once before as the 'new' volunteer together with someone more experienced. However, where she seems to feel that she performed inadequately relates to facilitating fruitful political discussions and thereby writing a useful project.

Interview Extract 6

```
1   KAT:  what about some of the most challenging things
2   DIT:  me feeling that I had a lot of responsibility (.) or more
3         responsibility (.) and it was also Swazi Democracy's responsibility
4         to work with us (.) and they did well as well (.) one thing I don't
5         know if we got around enough is (.) we discussed these things (.)
6         especially with Director about (.) is the project helping political
7         (.) eh (.) strategies of going further (.) but what was the
8         discussion actually about and could we have had a better discussion
9         (.) and THAT I would have maybe liked to be more prepared on (.) but
10        that's again this is what you (.) you have to (.) I I- don't know
11        where in my head I go to find these IDEAS about okay what the fuck
12        do we do to actually make this (.) like (.) yeah to make this:: (.)
13        right or work or help or
```

Ditte questions whether they could have "had a better discussion" (8) around politics and strategy. She admits that she would have liked to have been more prepared on that front (9), but restates that "I don't know where in my head I go to find these ideas about what the fuck to do" (11-12). She can be interpreted to be expressing a limitation in her broader knowledge about what the political movement could potentially need, which could be relevant for someone in her role to do. This shows

[39] https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Duh

that specialized knowledges, as suggested in the pre-project visit interviews, can only get one so far until they start to become limiting.

To briefly summarize, after the project visit, the volunteers express different aspects to their role which they see, in hindsight, as being relevant to conducting the project visit, but which they realized that they were not able to perform. These were for instance being critical (Liv), having knowledge about local conditions (Martha), and knowledge about what the political movement might need (Ditte). In doing so, they highlight the limitations of the knowledge which they previously claimed would be all that they would be needing during the project visit. After having faced the lived experience of carrying out the project visit, this perception seems to have changed and works to undermine their earlier normative expectations with respect to roles.

7.3. 'They can't relate to what you are talking about'

The experience of the Swazi partners is distinctly different with respect to knowledge asymmetries and conceptualizations of roles during the project visit. Having been partners with Nordic Solidarity for several years, they have had to work with several different configurations of volunteers from Nordic Solidarity. In this section, I discuss how the Swazi partners' role in the project visit encompasses dealing with the impact that the transience of volunteers brings about for their work. Only Musa seems to have taken an active role in compensating for some of it. In the process, I also argue that there are also normative expectations present on the Swazi partners side regarding role distribution according to perceptions of knowledge states.

Nelly and Musa work closest with the Nordic volunteers, which is why knowledge asymmetries only come up in their interviews. Nelly does the accounting and thus relies on Nordic Solidarities' requirements for bookkeeping. Musa, on the other hand, is involved in the strategic planning of projects between Swazi Democracy and Nordic Solidarity.

Nelly specifically sees a problem in the transience of volunteers because that stops them from growing together over the course of a project.

Interview Extract 7

```
1   KAT:  how has it been at Swazi Democracy working with Nordic Solidarity
2   NEL:  ((lists a number of positive things)) even though this challenge of
3         changing (.) the people (.) today (.) you'll find this one (.)
4         tomorrow is the other (.) that's a big challenge (.) if it was
5         permitted (.) let us have just the team that would take us from the
6         start of the project the end (.) at least all of us (.) would be
7         seeing each other growing (.) on both sides (.) you see
```

Nelly expresses a desire to have the same team from the start until the end of the project so that "at least all of us would be seeing each other growing [sic] on both

sides" (5-7). Nelly is not clear on what she means by 'growing', but taking into consideration challenging examples that she shares shortly after, she tends to experience the volunteers as inexperienced, which aligns with Nordic volunteers' assessment of their own performance. For instance, Nelly recounts the experience with a delegation who was unable to make any decisions and had to call back to the headquarters quite frequently. She juxtaposes this memory with her experience of the current delegation:

Interview Extract 8

```
24   NEL:  Ditte is now the second time to come (.) but she never came for
25         Swazi Democracy (.) it's for the first time (.) I haven't seen her
26         calling back to see (.) but some of the decisions she can make (.)
27         that is giving us confidence to say (.) yeah (.) we can work with
28         them
```

Nelly highlights that there can be a difference in whether or not a new volunteer instils confidence to work with him or her. Nelly's example underlines the point that there are differences in delegations, but there can equally be differences in to what extent a new volunteer is able to operate independently of more experienced people. She compliments Ditte for being able to make "some of the decisions" (26) which gives them confidence to work with the volunteers (27-28).

Since Nelly's primary job is bookkeeping, having shared knowledge is presumably less relevant for her in her encounters with the Nordic volunteers, as opposed to having clear procedures to follow (which has not been unproblematic in itself). Regardless, Nelly's account of her experiences highlights how she simply has to deal with the changes in the configurations of volunteers, some of whom may not be knowledgeable enough to instill confidence in her. In turn, this suggests an expectation at play that the volunteers should be more knowledgeable than they are sometimes experienced to be.

As strategic leader, Musa has more of a need for assuring that he is understood by the volunteers in the process of formulating and accounting for the progression of projects. His experience of knowledge asymmetries between himself and the volunteers is therefore also considerably more pronounced, which Extract 9 and 9-2 to follow illustrate. In order to address this experience, he claims to have consciously taken on the role of educating Nordic volunteers. Before that, however, it is important to analyze the sequential context in which this point comes up.

In a Skype interview with Musa and Nelly months after the project visit, I enquire about their position on the relevance of paperwork in the partnership. Nelly shares her experience with bookkeeping struggles, and Musa responds quite diplomatically. He claims to accept the paperwork as a necessary part of the relationship, but emphasizes that the focus should move more to political discussions and strategic engagement. For him, this also means that the volunteers need to be better informed

about Swaziland. This is a task that he claims to have taken on.

In presenting Extract 9, I have left out the original question, which concerned paperwork, and the immediate long response to it as I want to focus on the part where Musa discusses his perception of knowledge asymmetries. Since this Skype call was riddled with connection issues, I start from the point where the connection was last restored.

Interview Extract 9

```
1   KAT:  ((repeats the last thing she heard Musa say))
2   MUS:  yes I was saying at least now (.) eh ) we we we do:: (.) eh
3         discussion (.) we've had a discussion with them to say (.) we need
4         to focus on the political analysis as well as strategy
5   KAT:  mhm
6   MUS:  and organizational development
7   KAT:  mhm
8   MUS:  MORE (.) because the environment demands more of our time
9   KAT:  mhm
10  MUS:  and ideas around that (.) books of accounts should be
11        ((unintelligible)) ((chuckles)) but also maybe to understand why
12        such was happening (.) it goes back to the issue of lack of
13        understanding of the context
14  KAT:  mhm
15  MUS:  eh (.) that eh (.) most volunteers (.) of Nordic Solidarity are
16        master's students doing maste::rs (.) eh from university:: (.) very
17        few of them are full time
```

Once the connection is re-established, Musa briefly restates that with this project visit he was able to raise the point that they need to focus more on political analysis, strategy, and organizational development (2-4, 6, 8) because that is what he thinks is needed most. In line 11, Musa seems to begin to explain what he sees as the reasons for, presumably, the emphasis on paperwork. One of the reasons being, according to him, that Nordic Solidarity is volunteer-based, most of whom are still students at universities. It is a point he also made previously in his interview with me during the project visit, where he claimed that the volunteers are typically quite academic and therefore lack knowledge about local conditions. However, it remains unclear how the volunteers' "lack of understanding of the context" (12-13) relates to paperwork. Regardless, Musa seems to be building up to make a particular point as he continues his thought:

Interview Extract 9-2

```
18   MUS:  and most of them are doing political science: international lobb-
19         law- international politics and stuff like that (.) but our
20         observation has been it's not (1.4) eh (.) and in fact it's not a
21         Nordic Solidarity limitation
22   KAT:  mhm
23   MUS:  it could actually be with most people from the North
24   KAT:  mhm
25   MUS:  were it up to:: the South
26   KAT:  mhm
27   MUS:  or African ((unintelligible)) particularly
28   KAT:  yeah
29   MUS:  they:: quite (.) not AWARE (1.0) of most things (.) the history (.)
30         the nature of the politics and the current (.) ah (.) political
31         status
32   KAT:  mhm
33   MUS:  so you find that (week) they can grapple with better
34   KAT:  mhm
35   MUS:  is (what counts) (.) when you engage in the politics it it it (.)
36         you find that they are lost
37   KAT:  mhm
38   MUS:  eeh (.) they can't relate to what you are talking about (.) eh but
39         that's why we have decided that we must have MORE political
40         engagement (.) so that we help each other understand first and
41         foremost (.) eh (.) the environment under which Swazi Democracy
42         works (.) the history and the nature of the politics
43   KAT:  mhm
44   MUS:  it enables them to better understand you (.) and grapple with the
45         political discussion
46   KAT:  aha
47   MUS:  and I think with that approach it's bearing fruits
```

Musa continues to list the specialized academic knowledge the volunteers are seen to come with, pauses in his thought process (18-20), and then finishes his thought by stating that it is "not a Nordic Solidarity limitation" (20-21) but "with most people from the North" (23). These people he classifies as "not AWARE of most things the history the nature of the politics and the current political status" (29-30), which in Musa's view seem to be the most relevant knowledge to have. According to Musa, the people then seem "lost" (36) and are unable to "relate to what you are talking about" (38). On the basis of this, Musa's job could be taken to precisely involve this sort of elaborate convincing as he can be seen doing in 'conversational teaching sequences' (Section 6.2.).

Musa can be interpreted to have had an historical experience of knowledge asymmetries with "people from the North", and not just with Nordic Solidarity. To what extent this observation has morphed into a presumption (for instance when meeting new volunteers) is of course the more interesting question, but one which has no clear answer. Because of this repeated experience, Musa says, "we have decided that we must have MORE political engagement" (39-40). He seems to define 'political engagement' as an understanding of "the environment under which Swazi Democracy works", "the history and nature of the politics" which is supposed to "enable them to better understand you and grapple with the political discussion" (41-

42, 44-45). In fact, the lack of local knowledge is a criticism made by local staff members in other countries as well (Borda-Rodriquez & Johnson, 2013; Kruckenberg, 2015; Mawdsley et al., 2002). Indeed, Powell (2006) and Wallace et al. (2006) precisely argue for members of Northern NGOs to acquire local knowledge in order to produce meaningful development projects. In this sense, Musa's criticism is consistent with other studies of development encounters.

Musa claims to have consciously taken on the role of transmitting knowledge to delegations of Nordic volunteers, the kind of knowledge which he deems relevant to transmit for them to be able to participate in political discussions and understand the work that Swazi Democracy does. This explication adds new light to Musa's metaphorical comment at the end of the monitoring meeting on Day 1 – that "when you are going to SWIM I am SURE we'll be positive" (Transcript 6, Section 6.2). From this perspective, what will be positive is the possibility to have political discussions with the volunteers. Towards the end of Extract 9-2, Musa states that "we think with that approach it's bearing fruits" (47), which frames his strategy as one way of dealing with conditions that he otherwise cannot change.

Taken together, while the Nordic volunteers do not see it as their role to know about local conditions, Musa takes the opposite stance and knowingly transmits this knowledge to the volunteers as a result of his historically-entrenched experience of knowledge asymmetries with 'people from the North' which precludes fruitful political discussions. In this way he can also be seen revealing his expectation that the Nordic volunteers ought to be more knowledgeable than they are perceived to be at present.

To sum up, the changing of Nordic volunteers seems to challenge to a degree Swazi Democracy's work because of the knowledge asymmetry which the changing delegations bring with them. Musa's approach to dealing with the impact of this is to take on the role of addressing the knowledge gap which he perceives to be present. This is markedly different from Nelly, who at least does not articulate what her approach to addressing knowledge asymmetries is, although she identifies this issue as influential in carrying out projects with Nordic Solidarity. Understood from the two Swazi partners' perspective then, knowledge asymmetries are not quite as institutionally justified as the Nordic volunteers could be taken to suggest. Furthermore, while the Nordic volunteers expect the Swazi partners to be more knowledgeable than themselves, the Swazi partners in turn also expect the Nordic volunteers to be more knowledgeable than they are.

7.4. 'I remember feeling how I SHOULD be professional'

In this last analytical section on interview data in Part I, I focus on one particular exchange that took place during the feedback session with the Nordic volunteers.

This exchange brings together different threads in this chapter. More specifically, I explore how the Nordic volunteers see it as the Swazi partners' role to assist the volunteers in taking the lead in the project visit because of their experience and knowledge. In this sense, the volunteers seem to view themselves as apprentices and reveal a normative expectation of the Swazi partners to take on a more active role.

Given that I play an even bigger role in shaping the discussion in the feedback session, I also need to comment on the terms and ideas that I introduce into the joint meaning-making between myself and the Nordic volunteers. In contrast to my pre- and post-project visit interviews with them, in the feedback session I specifically invite the volunteers to reflect on who does what (roles) and who knows what (knowledge) as they look at the clips that I had chosen as a basis for our discussion (see Appendix J for transcripts of these clips). In other words, from the start of the session, I draw attention to the fact that questions related to role and knowledge distribution are of interest me, which potentially shapes the issues that then come to be discussed.

The following exchange in Extract 10 takes place after I showed the 3rd clip, which involved Liv and Musa working on writing objectives for the Donor Green application on Day 3, right after the brainstorming meeting (see Appendix J, Clip #3 for transcript of the clip). This clip prompts the volunteers to discuss whether it is a matter of habit that the Nordic volunteers have become the *de facto* entextualizers (a theme which is also taken up in Part II). Crucial to this discussion is their observation that the Swazi partners do not take an active role in producing applications from their perspective. I pursue this line of thinking further by asking whether it would have been intimidating for them to take up a more explicit conversation about role distribution during the project visit.

Interview Extract 10

```
KAT:  but if you had gone in February (.) and thought (.) no (.) you know
      (.) I'm gonna be explicit about what I want our roles to be (.) if I
      didn't know what to say or do (.) or don't understand what they're
      doing and what to ask (.) do you think that would've been a very
      kind of (.) intimidating thing to do (.) being a new person
LIV:  no
DIT:  yes a little bit
MAR:  I think so for me as well
KAT:  yeah
DIT:  definitely because (.) but I think that's maybe on Nordic
      Solidarity's side but you also feel (.) that you are sent there with
      some (.) because you have some kind of (.) yeah (.) I don't know (.)
      you're supposed to be sent there not as a total blank sheet but with
      some kind of expertise in it
KAT:  mhm
DIT:  how to actually like we have at least we have looked at how the
      format is or the preparation or like (.) knowing something about how
      (.) how to write projects or whatever (.) and I didn't f:: mm (.)
      yeah but it's maybe also just a weird idea of having to be
      professional (.) or not being professional but yeah (.) I don't know
      to contribute at the like (.) at the first point
MAR:  mhm
```

At first, all three produce a minimal response on what their stance on that question is (6-8). Ditte elaborates first, and highlights that in her view someone in her role should not go to Swaziland as a "total blank sheet but with some kind of expertise" (13-14), specifically with respect to "how to write projects" (18). This is in line with the institutional role that the Nordic volunteers outlined for themselves in their pre-interviews with me.

Furthermore, Ditte characterizes the situation as "weird" (19) where one has to be "professional" from "the first point" (line 21). With this statement Ditte seems to call into question whether they can adequately "contribute" (21) with their limited professional experience and knowledge about what is relevant for Swazi Democracy. This builds on the post-interviews where the Nordic volunteers expressed their experiences of inadequacy during the project visit, which they claimed prevented them from performing according to their own expectations for someone in their role. Here, Ditte echoes this point by suggesting that one is not able to "contribute" from the very start with limited knowledge and experience.

After it seems that Ditte does not have anything further to add, I ask Liv to elaborate:

Interview Extract 10-2

```
35   KAT:  you said no
36   LIV:  well no I I remember that feeling of how I SHOULD be like really
37         professional because I was sent and all (.) but we WEREN't (.) and I
38         think they knew we were new
39   KAT:  mhm
40   LIV:  so I don't think it would have been (.) eh (.) wrong or embarrassing
41         or anything (.) to say that
42   KAT:  mhm
43   LIV:  eh but yeah maybe I did think as well (.) no why should I pretend
44         like I know more than I do
45   KAT:  mhm
46   LIV:  and we DID know some (.) we had read a lot about but .hhh obviously
47         we hadn't done it before (.) we hadn't even met them before
48   DIT:  mhm
49   KAT:  mhm
50   LIV:  they are used to having new people all the time (.) and maybe that's
51         also (.) we know that they're a bit annoyed about new people coming
52         all the time (.) so you don't wanna start by saying (.) oh I'm
53         completely new so you need to have that in mind (.) or
```

Liv continues to use Ditte's terminology of 'being professional', admitting that she remembers her own expectation of having to be professional, "because I was sent and all" (36-37), thereby highlighting that she was operating as an institutional representative. She openly admits that they were not professional (37) which was presumably known by the Swazi partners (37-38).

Liv ties in being professional with having relevant knowledge, as she then articulates her memories of thinking whether she should pretend to "know more than I do" (44). Immediately after, she stresses that "we DID know some we had read a lot" (46) but "we hadn't done it before". From this we can derive that being professional entails relevant knowledge, but also actual experience with institutionally mandated tasks. In this sense, Liv brings together the specialized knowledge distribution suggested by the volunteers, and the inadequacy they claimed to have experienced while carrying their tasks.

Finally, Liv adds that since she suspects the Swazi partners to be used to "having new people all the time" (50), it encouraged her to not draw attention to it by way of "oh I'm completely new so you need to have that in mind" (52-53). Ditte takes an opposite stance to this on what role she expected the Swazi partners to take on precisely with respect to the volunteers being new, as discussed in Extract 10-3.

Interview Extract 10-3

64 DIT: yeah I think (.) explicit (.) to ask more explicitly about (.) could
65 be good (.) but it also (.) it was not something that was very
66 encouraged by them either (.) it was really (.) it would have been
67 (.) for us it would have been a very active role to come with
68 KAT: mhm
69 MAR: yeah
70 DIT: and yeah we should really have (.) I think you really have to decide
71 on that before
72 KAT: mhm
73 DIT: and that's sometimes difficult when you don't know (.) can't even
74 imagine what you're going to do hehe
75 KAT: mhm
76 LIV: and maybe because we were the new ones and they weren't the new ones
77 they could have taken a bigger role than us
78 KAT: mhm
79 LIV: like we know you're new so we will walk you a bit through it (.) and
80 (.) and just say if you're not on board or anything (.) but they
81 didn't take that role at all
82 KAT: mhm
83 DIT: no (.) they took more the opposite role
84 LIV: yeah exactly

Ditte begins to justify why she was not explicit with the Swazi partners about who should do what during the project visit. For instance, she claims that it was not "encouraged" (66) by the Swazi partners, and that it would have required the volunteers to take on "a very active role" (67). However, Ditte seems to relate this to carrying out the actual tasks (73-74) rather than having relevant knowledge, which is Liv's focus in Extract 10-2.

Despite the difference in emphasis, Liv adds to Ditte's line of thinking that since the Swazi partners were not 'new', "they could have taken a bigger role than us" (77), e.g. by walking the volunteers through their shared tasks (79). This seems to resonate with Ditte who exclaims "no they took more the opposite role" (83). This suggests that those who are perceived as more knowledgeable and experienced should take on an active role by talking openly about how to organize the process of working together as well as taking the lead in moving it forward. In short, it seems that Liv and Ditte see themselves as what I would call a 'professional apprentice' – someone who still needs guidance but to some degree already has relevant knowledge and perhaps even experience to carry out the mandated tasks, similarly to the image portrayed by Liv in Extract 10-2. The perspective expressed by the volunteers here makes for an interesting contrast to the observed discursive practices where the volunteers can in fact be seen taking a rather active role in the project visit. But perhaps this came about precisely as the Swazi partners were not perceived to take the lead nor help the process along.

To briefly summarize, in the feedback session the volunteers continue the narrative of inadequacy, which comes to be anchored in lack of actual experience, limited knowledge, and generally being 'new'. This comes on the back of their

perceived experience of being forced into an 'active role' as newcomers while the Swazi partners were seen as more passive in moving forward the project visit. In this sense, since the Swazi partners are seen as both more knowledgeable as well as more experienced, Ditte and Liv's normative expectation is that the Swazi staff should also take a more active role. Finally, I argued that Liv and Ditte seem to regard themselves as what I would call 'professional apprentices'.

7.5. Summary

The analyses of interview data in this chapter demonstrate that both the Nordic volunteers and the Swazi staff members perceive knowledge asymmetries to be a significant factor in this (and other) project visit(s). In topicalizing this, the participants can also be seen expressing their normative expectations around role distribution during the project visit.

The Nordic volunteers perceive themselves as the less knowledgeable party with respect to 'local knowledge', but holders of what has been called 'technical/organizational knowledge'. In this sense, the volunteers can be seen justifying the knowledge asymmetry as a distribution of specialized knowledges and claim that their role does not require them to possess 'local knowledge'. By the post-interviews, this perception seems to have changed as the volunteers discuss the limits of the knowledge they did have. At the same time, the volunteers also express an expectation that because the Swazi partners are seen as more knowledgeable and experienced, they should take on a more active role in moving forward the project visit.

Meanwhile, the Swazi partners' perspective aligns with that of the Nordic volunteers in that the former also views the latter as less knowledgeable on local matters. Crucially, however, this is not seen as fruitful for having political discussions, and is said to be a repeated experience over the course of several Nordic Solidarity delegations. As a result of this accumulative experience, Musa claims to have consciously taken on the task of attending to the perceived knowledge asymmetries and teaching the Nordic volunteers what he deems relevant for them to know. Both Musa's and Nelly's accounts reveal the Swazi partners' expectations towards the Nordic volunteers, which is that they would be more knowledgeable.

7.6. Discussion of analytical observations

In this chapter I sought to answer the research question – *how do the participants perceive of their role with respect to knowledge asymmetries?* Rather than *explain* the discursive practices related to knowledge asymmetries with the help of interview

data or vice versa, I have analyzed participant accounts in their own right in order to understand how knowledge asymmetries impinge on participants' perceptions of their role in the project visit. Nevertheless, the analyzed participant accounts add interesting nuances to understanding this transient social configuration from the perspective of unequally distributed knowledge resources, which an analysis of situated activities on its own cannot provide.

From both the Nordic volunteers and the Swazi partners, there seem to be pre-conceived expectations at play about who should know what in their capacity as an institutional representative. The Nordic volunteers ought to know and comprehend more about local matters, while the Swazi partners ought to take a more active role as they are not new to the project visit format. Regardless of what the participants think, the Nordic volunteers do not vocalize their expectations during the project visit, and they can in fact be seen taking a highly active role in moving forward the project visit. In contrast, Musa both explains the need for and visibly carries out what I referred to as 'conversational teaching'. In this sense, Musa can indeed be seen guiding the Nordic volunteers from being 'new' to acquiring local knowledge and thus taking an active role during the project visit.

Taken together, the analyses highlight how participants can enter a transient social configuration with pre-conceived ideas and expectations, for instance regarding role distribution. In actual face-to-face encounters, these ideas and expectations can either be challenged, as is the case with the Nordic volunteers who realized the limits of what they thought would be enough to know about to be able to carry out the project visit, or be confirmed so that countermeasures can be adopted, as is the case with Musa's interactional efforts of mitigating the perceived knowledge asymmetries. Analyzing the two data types separately has been particularly useful in showing that participants' pre-conceived ideas or expectations do not necessarily get translated into action, and thus caution should be exercised in explaining discursive practices with the help of participant accounts (a similar point is made by Schnurr & Zayts, 2017 in the case of international workplace communication). The more interesting question in the case of such divergences is perhaps *why* the divergence between practice and participant accounts comes about at all. What sort of norm center do the volunteers orient to that prevents them from articulating their expectations regarding role distribution? Some suggestive answers to these are discussed in the analytical Chapter 10 in Part II.

On a final note, the kinds of questions that I asked the participants from both organizations seem to have prompted them to make relevant knowledge asymmetries and the issues that come with it. To what extent these issues were top of their mind in preparing for or carrying out the project visit otherwise, in a case where they would not have been a participant in a research project, remains a matter for speculation.

In this sense, I treat these participant accounts as jointly constructed processes of meaning-making between myself and the interviewees, equally as much influenced by my ideas about what one can potentially experience as part of a transient social configuration and what would then be relevant to ask, as by the participants' own trajectories into, during, and out of the project visit.

8

8. Summary of Part I

In the first analytical theme in this thesis, I investigated how knowledge asymmetries are made relevant and dealt with in displayed conduct and participant accounts. First, I observed that the participants can be seen to distribute task-related roles based on their orientations to their jointly constructed and emerging institutional and epistemic orders. The discursive practices which emerge from this process can be seen to help the participants establish a shared body of knowledge, and thereby jointly formulate a new development project. Following this, I discussed how the participants can be seen to participate in the project visit with pre-conceived expectations around knowledge asymmetries and the implications of these on role distribution. These expectations can also potentially shape the transient social configuration, although their actual workings in practice are more difficult to ascertain.

By focusing on situated activities and participant accounts separately, I have been able to explore two different vantage points to understanding this transient social configuration. Common to both is the idea that participants can be seen to enter the transient social configuration with unequally distributed knowledge, and potentially other, resources, which can be taken to play a role in the discursive practices that emerge in this situated context. In the case of displayed conduct, we learn how various resources come to impact the ways in which people organize their shared activities. In the case of interviews, we learn what sort of resources and issues the participants themselves deem relevant, although any correlation with observable conduct should be made with caution. In this case, I identified that knowledge asymmetries are not only relevant in face-to-face encounters, but also in participant accounts. However, I also identified a divergence in how the participants realize their pre-conceived expectations – the Nordic volunteers refrain from vocalizing these, while Musa can be seen actively realizing his expectations.

What the analyses in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 do not tell us much about is the broader context in which this project visit can be seen to be embedded. While it is reasonable to argue that an unequal distribution of knowledge resources leads to locally established discursive practices and social organization, this argument backgrounds the institutional framework that these participants can be seen operating within, which in itself can lend different resources to different participants.

From this perspective, new questions become relevant, such as where do the tasks of project monitoring and project proposal writing come from, and what sort of rationale are they rooted in, what sort of resources are relevant to carry out these tasks, and in what ways can all of it together be seen constraining and enabling the participants in various ways? In other words, how does an institutional framework with its various procedures and ideologies have a bearing on the kind of discursive practices that can be observed in this transient social configuration? In Part II of this thesis, I precisely take up these questions by homing in on the task of creating a new development project. In the remainder of this thesis, I explore both its interactional logic as well as the various contextual factors which can be seen to circulate within and impinge on how project planning and writing comes to be carried out.

PART II – Writing a development project

9. Introduction to Part II

The participants in this transient project visit do not only face the task of establishing how to work together with respect to knowledge asymmetries, they also face the task of planning a new project and writing it into two separate donor funding applications. In fact, project planning and writing is one of the most time-consuming tasks during this project visit. Given the time and effort dedicated to this task, in Part II of this thesis I precisely investigate how the participants organize the project planning and writing process.

As the analyses come to show, this process cannot be entirely seen as an *in situ* accomplishment. This is because the need for creating development projects and producing relevant texts in conjunction with it should be understood against the backdrop of broader institutional logics. In other words, it is not the participants' creative impetus that results in the participants organizing their partnership in the format of development projects, nor in writing down the project ideas into specific templates, let alone being partners in the first place. Rather, this observable conduct bears traces of institutional ideologies, requirements, and procedures that transcend the local context.

Following Layder's conceptualization of an analytically stratifiable social world (as explained in Section 3.1), these institutional structures do not fully determine what takes place in situated encounters. At the same time, they do constrain and enable the participants in various ways. The broader institutional framework can therefore provide a framework for social action, but the ways in which participants (are able to) take this up in situated encounters is the empirical question of interest here. Investigating the project planning and writing process therefore provides a useful way into exploring how broader institutional frameworks may impinge on the emergence of discursive practices in the context of transience.

Taking the above seriously highlights that this project visit, and the process of creating a development project, is not a matter of participants forming a transient social configuration from a blank slate. The institutionality of the encounter, as made relevant by the participants, can be seen to be fraught with conditioning factors. This

means that the project visit is not a space where anything can happen, which in turn brings to the fore questions related to power. However, the analysis that I pursue in Chapter 10 is not geared towards a critique of power relations but, as a starting point, a description of social actions, some of which can be construed as the workings of power. To the extent that the issue of power proves relevant, this topic is taken up in Chapter 11 where I discuss the conclusions reached in this thesis as a whole.

Methodologically, Part II is anchored in a linguistic ethnographic approach, as outlined in Section 3.2.1.3, to explore the relations between situated activities, participants, and institutional logics. I do this in order to tease out how various levels of context can be seen to impinge on the emergence of discursive practices in this transient social configuration.

I launch this introductory chapter with an account of my analytical process (Section 9.1), followed by an account of the concepts that proved relevant in this process (Section 9.2). I then move on to contextualizing the data from a further angle, which is the managerialist ideology with its increasing demand for documentation within international development (Section 9.3). Following these introductory sections, I present the analysis in Chapter 10, where I focus on two phenomena in particular – the emergence of textual practices related to donor-provided application templates, and the use of project language in filling in these templates.

9.1. Analytical process in Part II

The present, second analytical theme in this thesis emerged as a result of a series of explorations of the data set, guided by emerging questions, as well as feedback to my ongoing analyses. In this section I aim to capture this analytical process.

One phenomenon that I noticed during my preliminary analyses of the data is the participants' recurring references to a phenomenon which they refer to as 'project language' during their text production activities (and which is in fact analyzed in Chapter 10.3 to follow). This observation functioned as the catalyst for a more dedicated attention to the project planning and writing process. Furthermore, following my analyses of the interview data for Part I of this thesis, I was already aware that many of the participants also reflect on the process of writing together. Guided by these general observations of the data, I found it relevant to understand the interactional properties of these text production meetings as a whole. At first, I was guided by broad questions around who types, who provides input, and who decides what is typed up. This resulted in several collections of sequences which revealed a systematicity to how the text production activities come to be locally organized.

Following the interactional analyses related to this topic, I returned to the interview and feedback session data, and built thematic collections of moments where writing

activities are discussed. This theme was activated primarily by keywords such as 'writing', 'writing together', 'reports', and 'projects'.

In order to move beyond interactional and interview data[40], I then began to ask questions such as 'why this now?' and 'where does this come from?' and employed concepts such as 'institutional texts', 'entextualization', 'gatekeeping', and 'register' for further rounds of analyses (these terms are explained in Section 9.2 to follow). For instance, I traced the origin of the donor application templates, which the participants can be seen working on, to the prevalence of managerialist ideology in development work (as explained in Section 9.3 to follow9.3. The role of texts in development). This gave me a new understanding of the role of both 'project language' as well as text production activities more broadly in this setting. The data also prompted me to understand the notion of partnership (which was described in Section 2.3) and the ideological undercurrent this added to the text production activities. In short, starting from the data helped build a contextual background to this project visit as a whole. This process also helped to theorize whether the observed textual practices can be seen as institutionally sedimented practices, as *in situ* accomplishments, or a combination of both.

Presenting a neat narrative of these analytical explorations proved the hardest part, as the phenomena which I decided to write about can be seen as intertwined in complex ways. After several drafts and restructuring exercises, I chose to present the interactional and interview data separately, organized around their thematic links, so as to highlight the different angles on specific themes that different types of data can provide.

In the next section, I outline the concepts which I employed as part of my analytical process.

9.2. Concepts employed for transcontextual analysis

I employed several concepts to analyze the links between emergent discursive practices and the broader social framework which they can be seen reflexively shaped by. These concepts make possible a kind of 'transcontextual' (Blommaert, 2016, p. 254; Rampton et al., 2014, p. 14) analysis in the sense that they help make visible various aspects of a social context in a situated encounter, which can both entail longer- and shorter-term processes, or events taking place in different time-space contexts. In this sense, my analysis in Part II of this thesis is underpinned by a "layered and multiscalar view of context" (Rampton et al., 2015, p. 36; Blommaert &

[40] Field notes proved a marginal data source as I was not attuned to the relevance of texts and textual practices at the project visit during my field work.

Rampton, 2011, p. 10). As I discussed in Section 3.2.1, this conceptualization of context is compatible with a realist position. While the notion of language as indexical emphasizes the discursive construction of social life, it also comes with an inherent realist position; one where other scales (Blommaert, 2007b; Blommaer, Westinen, & Leppänen, 2015) such as institutions, time, space, material objects, interactions etc. exist with their own properties and characteristics, and which can be 'pointed to' through language use in communicative encounters.

However, the analysis to follow is not intended as a study of a "scaling project" (Carr & Lempert, 2016, p. 10), i.e. how scales are produced and stabilized by participants, where I would seek to map all relevant scalar categories, determining their degrees of connectedness or their boundaries. Rather, the analysis to follow is perhaps closer to a "scale-making endeavor" (Carr & Lempert, 2016, p. 5) on my part where I empirically trace and thereby make visible the multiscalarity of situated encounters. In doing so I fully recognize the limits of this analytical endeavor. More concretely, that it is impossible to determine all relevant aspects of a social context, and thus the multiscalarity that my analyses reveal is necessarily a reflection of aspects that are salient to my analytical gaze.

With this as the backdrop, the first set of concepts employed for a transcontextual analysis relates to the use of donor-provided templates as indexical of institutional ideologies, procedures, and practices (the analysis itself is presented in Section 10.2). This focal point makes relevant concepts such as *institutional text*, *entextualization*, *frontstage entextualization,* and *professional vision*. The second set of concepts relates to the linguistic choices made when writing donor applications, which makes relevant concepts such as *register* and *audience design* (the analysis is presented in Section 10.3). In the following sections, I outline my conceptualization and application of these concepts.

9.2.1. Concepts for analyzing textual practices

Material objects such as texts have been identified as useful analytical entry points into investigating what participants' uptake of texts in situated encounters reveals about the broader social framework and, in turn, how texts themselves coordinate situated activities (Collins, 1996; Smith, 2005; Bauman & Briggs, 1990). While I understand the notion of text to encompass a whole range media, in this study I use the term institutional texts to refer to donor-provided templates specifically.

Institutions have been argued to be text-mediated (Smith, 2001, 2005; Atkinson & Coffey, 1997). These texts, however, should not be seen as universal, but rather culturally embedded in a particular institutional logic of ideologies, procedures, history, or even other institutional texts (Atkinson & Coffey, 2007, p. 55-56). Central to

this is texts as prescriptive through their textualist criteria i.e. the logic of how to present information (Collins, 1996; Maryns, 2013). In the case of templates, textualist criteria constrain what kind of information needs to be extracted from relevant people, and how this information should be presented linguistically. All of this has been shown to be rooted in institution-specific ideologies around appropriate representations of subjectivities (Smith, 2005, p. 186; Maryns, 2006, p. 316).

Since I do not have access to the documents that were produced during this project visit, I cannot analyze the produced texts themselves. However, I can explore how templates are taken up to coordinate situated activities, which can also reveal the workings of institutional structures (Smith, 2001). Most prominently, I am concerned with participants who display the capacity and authority to produce these institutional texts (but also how this production process is talked about, see next section). These participants can be labelled as entextualizers, derived from the notion of **entextualization**. This is understood as the process of turning discourse e.g. talk into text, detached from the interactional context in which the talk occurs (Bauman & Briggs, 1990, p. 73; Urban, 1996, p. 21). Who comes to entextualize spoken discourse into written discourse can reveal how institutional relations are interpreted and talked into being in a situated context. It is also important to note that I do not take neither donor templates nor the social organization of textual practices around the templates as a direct representation of institutions, but rather see them as a way of exploring the workings of various institutional ideologies, as these are taken up and employed in the emergent coordination of action.

However, not anyone can take on the task of entextualization as it also requires **professional vision** (Goodwin, 1994), i.e. professional training and knowledge, on how to meet textualist criteria. Goodwin makes the example of how training archeologists codify archeological artifacts in order to entextualize these into bureaucratic forms, all of which requires specialized knowledge about what kind input to look for or elicit and how to entextualize it into a pre-defined form. By observing how participants carry out such activities, it is possible to make connections between social actors' embodiment of their professional knowledge and training, and institutional ideologies and procedures around representing various social phenomena in institutional texts.

Participants functioning as entextualizers can be seen as gatekeepers, derived from the notion of **gatekeeping** (Erickson, 1975; Erickson & Schultz, 1982; Roberts, 2000). I define gatekeeping as an encounter where some participants display the authority to make decisions which affect other co-present participants, for instance by controlling their access to resources, such as jobs or legal rights. Gatekeeping has most prominently been explored in intercultural job interview settings (e.g. Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 2002; Roberts, 2013; Tranekjær, 2015). However, gatekeeping can also take place during institutional text production processes (cf. Maryns, 2006,

2013; Komter, 2006; Rock, 2001; Blommaert, 2001) where some participants control what aspect of another participant's input is entextualized and how it is represented linguistically. Crucially, the participant providing input does not have much control over this process, and yet may be held accountable for the written record being produced by an institutional representative. It is this manifestation of gatekeeping that is relevant in this study.

Entextualization in institutional settings can also be carried out in a collaborative way, referred to as **frontstage entextualization** (Rock, 2017). This involves the process of participants moving along the text production trajectory together. Rock discusses the case of one police witness interview where the witness report is constructed through formulations suggested by several participants, in Rock's case both by the police officer as the institutional representative and the witness. Rock argues that by inviting the witness to linguistically contribute to the writing process, the institutional representative can be seen transforming the writing process from a gatekeeping encounter into a more collaborative one.

Finally, whether an activity being studied is a case of gatekeeping or frontstaging should be an empirical question rather assumed *a priori*. In either case, I argue that the ways in which text production comes to be socially organized can be taken as a reflection of the participants' uptake of various institutional ideologies, and thus provide an empirical grounding for showing the influence of a broader institutional framework on shaping emergent discursive practices.

9.2.2. Concepts relevant for analyzing linguistic choices

How a broader institutional context may impinge on emergent discursive practices can also be explored through the choices participants can be seen making on a linguistic level when producing institutional texts. In addition to analyzing the uptake of templates, I also analyze participants' talk *about* their linguistic choices. Specifically, I home in on how participants over time, through metapragmatic talk, classify a way of using language as 'project language' (see analysis in Section 11.3.) and employ it as justification for specific linguistic choices in producing donor applications. I argue that this metalinguistic commentary reveals the participants' sense-making in the text production process, as well as the wider institutional framework which they understand themselves to be navigating (cf. Agha, 2007, p. 15).

The process of imbuing ways of using language and behaving with social meaning, such as giving it a label, has been referred to as **enregisterment** (Agha, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2015). This process can be analyzed by identifying patterns of metapragmatic typification (Agha, 2004, p. 26-27), such as evaluative comments

which label specific ways of using language and behaving as distinct. Processes of enregisterment can lead to the establishment of a **register**, a fluid and negotiable behavioral model which is recognizable and comes to be linked to specific social identities, relations, practices, institutions, or social processes (Agha, 2007, p. 145). However, a register is only ever a "sociohistorical snapshot of a process of enregisterment" (Agha, 2015, p. 27).

Examples of registers can include such diverse phenomena as classifying linguistic items to be associated with a Pittsburgh identity (Johnstone, 2016), labeling food items as a way of indexing moral hierarchies, ethnicity, and globalization (Karrebæk, 2014), labeling specific speech practices to index being 'integrated' (Madsen, 2015), identifying a specific way of producing rap music as specifically Korean rap (Park, 2016), Copenhagen school children organizing different languages and ways of speaking according to their norms of use (Møller & Jørgensen, 2013), or a teacher evaluating the use of Arabic and Somali as registers of low value in a Copenhagen classroom (Møller, 2015).

Once a register has been talked into being and gained social currency, registers can be employed with an intended audience in mind for "specific pragmatic effects" (Karrebæk, 2014, p. 18), for instance to index social identities, social relations etc. In this regard, Bell's (1984, 2002) notion of **audience design** is useful. Bell argues that the choice of linguistic style, e.g. a register, can be a way of orienting language use with an intended recipient or hearer in mind who is believed to be associated with that linguistic style. Audience design is therefore responsive as well as agentive relative to broader social structures. However, one's agency to employ a register for particular pragmatic effects can be limited if one has not been exposed to a relevant register. This can be especially problematic in the case of not being able to produce donor applications in order to acquire funding. In other words, studying participants' metalinguistic commentary on linguistic choices can reveal their ongoing sense-making of the audience they can be seen catering their writing to, and of the broader institutional framework which they find themselves navigating. Furthermore, it can also be taken as evidence of the social identities which participants are able to index through their ability to employ a register.

To sum up, in this overall section, I outlined my conceptualization and application of a range of concepts which I employ for analyzing how emergent discursive practices can be seen to be influenced by broader social structures. Taking all of these concepts into consideration, I find it relevant to reiterate that even as these concepts seem to emphasize the *participants'* sense-making as an analytical entry point into understanding the relation between situated encounters, persons and broader social structures, I do not suggest that social structures are *only* constructed

by participants in situated encounters. Rather, my emphasis is on how the participants can be seen to index or make relevant other scales of context through communicative practices, but these other scales I understand to operate on a different timescale, with their own properties and powers. Taking the situated context as my point of departure rather serves the purpose of empirically determining the relevance of investigating specific ideologies, procedures etc. as relevant to the coordination of action in the local context. In doing so, I argue that I am also on a firmer empirical ground to discuss which aspects of the broader social framework impinge on emergent discursive practices in different ways. Having said that, my analytical gaze has necessarily been selective and driven by observations of phenomena that have been salient to me as an analyst. Thus, I do not rule out that other social phenomena which I do not cover in this analytical theme may be equally as, if not more, relevant.

With this as the backdrop, I now turn to discussing the second institutional ideology made relevant by the data – managerialism – which contextualizes the relevance of the textual practices observed and analyzed in this thesis, as well as positions this study in the ongoing debate on managerialism in the literature.

9.3. The role of texts in development work

In this section, I introduce the reader to the managerialist logic prevalent in modern international development. Understanding the nature of this ideology is crucial for making the argument that the process of writing a development project, which I study in this second analytic theme of this thesis, is not an innocent activity but one that is a high stakes institutional encounter, realized through the production of texts.

The managerial logic manifests as "an explosive demand for documentation" (Mawdsley, Townsend, & Porter, 2005, p. 78) from donor agencies to account for where aid money is sent and how it is spent. Managerialism should be seen as much an ideological as an historical product. It is historical as it can be related to the pervasive reliance on texts in industrialized societies, such as those in the so-called Global North (Smith, 2002, 2005; Rudrum, 2016). Conversely, Rudrum (2016) discusses how countries in the so-called Global South are not equally as "text-saturated" (p. 2) which makes donors' demands for documentation particularly marked. Following from this, that texts are so pervasive in institutional practices, at least in the Global North, indicates that there is ideological value attached to what texts help realize; a value which is perhaps not necessarily shared everywhere in the world[41]. In this section, I aim to explain the *ideological* nature of managerialism,

[41] The differential valorization of texts is just one relevant factor. I also acknowledge that differences in literacy

followed by a review of how this ideology has been reported to impact development encounters, and the process of writing development projects specifically.

Managerialism as an institutional ideology took precedence in development work in the 1990s. It has been referred to by many names – as, indeed, 'managerialism' (Elbers, 2012, p. 175; p. 33; Gardner & Lewis, 2015, p. 375-378; Wallace & Porter, 2013; p. 4; Roberts, Jones, & Fröhling, 2005, p. 1846), 'new public management' (Mawdsley et al., 2005, p. 78), and as 'upward accountability' to donors rather than to Southern NGOs as partners (Banks, Hulme, & Edwards, 2015, p. 709). This ideology is said to have arisen in response to the failure of early top-down development aid interventions which brought about a need to account for the use of aid money (Elbers, Knippenberg, & Schulten, 2014; Bornstein, 2003, 2006). In an effort to subdue the growing demand for accountability and proof of "value for money" (Elbers, 2012, p.175), standardized corporate project management tools, such as evaluation reports and project planning templates, were introduced by donors:

> International non-governmental organizations increasingly must operate in a culture of managerialism where change must first be envisaged, then detailed, described, and planned for. Once implemented, projects must demonstrate the achievement of pre-set results, which must be measured and reported on in quantitative terms. (Wallace & Porter, 2013, p. 4)

Underlying these management processes are principles such as accountability, transparency, effectiveness, and efficiency, together with practices for bookkeeping, project planning, evaluation, and so forth (Roberts et al., 2005; Elbers et al., 2014; Wallace, Crowther, & Shepherd, 2006; Mawdsley et al., 2002). Elbers (2012) summarizes the core of these principles:

> Central to the managerial logic is the demonstration of effectiveness and efficiency by means of quantitative performance indicators. The implicit assumption is that development can be planned and controlled as long as the right management tools are applied. The use of such tools is viewed as a neutral exercise aimed at predictability, reflecting a linear perspective on development. (Elbers, 2012, p. 175)

In other words, principles of managerialism are realized through "tools", i.e. various documents, which, while presented as "neutral" (Wallace et al., 2006, p. 34), are highly ideological in terms of the linear progression of development they propose. Managerialism is thus best understood as a "highly culture-specific linguistic-communicative ideology" (Maryns, 2006, p. 316) and believed to result in successful

levels around the world also a play a role in the degree to which texts, such as institutional documents, are pervasive in a society (see also Rudrum's (2016) literature review of the absence of texts in Global South).

development outputs through the production of texts[42]. Working with donor-provided templates, such as it can be observed in the present study, should therefore be seen as a process of navigating this managerialist logic.

The rise of managerialism in development work has not been met without considerable criticism. On a practical level, studies report how donors' textual demands serve as a time-consuming distraction from the main mission (Bornstein, 2003, 2006; Roberts et al., 2005; Mawdsley et al., 2002, 2005), donor funding priorities often influence the content of the work of Southern NGOs as well as the kind of projects they are able to formulate and secure funding for (Brehm, 2019; Markowitz & Tice, 2002; Mawdsley et al., 2002; Elbers & Arts, 2011; Banks et al., 2015, Wallace et al., 2006), and implicitly require that members of Southern NGOs have the necessary linguistic skills and knowledge to produce the required reports and applications (Bornstein 2003, 2006; Elbers & Arts, 2011; Mawdsley et al., 2002, 2005; Footitt, 2017; Wallace et al., 2006). However, studies of Southern NGOs' responses to managerialism also list a large number of strategies which the staff report to have adopted to reject, challenge, or circumvent the donors' textual demands (Harrison, 2007; Roberts et al., 2005; Elbers & Arts, 2011; Bornstein, 2003, 2006). One of these strategies is in fact enlisting consultants from the Global North or passing on the task of producing donor documents to Northern NGOs as their contribution to the partnership (Bornstein, 2006), such as it seems to be the case in this study as well.

In my analysis of textual practices (Chapter 10), I specifically focus on one aspect of managerialism – that of development project planning and writing. Krause (2014, p. 23-25) describes how projects entail improving some aspect of the lives of people in the Global South[43]. A project has a specific outcome or vision, a beginning and an end date, and it includes various items such as a budget, staff, materials, activities, training, and so forth. The 'project cycle' entails needs assessment, project planning, implementing, monitoring, and finally, evaluating. There are variations to how this project cycle can be realized. Project assessment and planning can take place among partner organizations, or it can be defined by a Northern NGO depending on what *they* deem important to focus on. Similarly, implementation can involve all partner organizations, or result in a distribution of tasks, or it may be the sole responsibility of the Southern NGO. However, it is often the Northern NGOs who carry out the monitoring and evaluation of projects on behalf of donors, but there are

[42] At this point it is important to stress the heterogeneity of managerialist practices across donors and Northern NGOs who carry these out, although there is a certain 'mainstream' quality to many of these practices (Roberts et al., 2005, p. 1849; Wallace et al., 2006).

[43] A distinction can be made here between humanitarian projects and development projects. The first address emergency situations, whereas the latter address various societal issues that are not necessarily related to emergencies (Krause, 2014, p. 27-28). In this study my focus is on producing a development project.

differences to what degree Southern NGOs are involved in this process.

It is after needs assessment that project ideas are discussed, defined and planned for, and subsequently written down to fit donor applications' textual criteria and sent to donors to (hopefully) acquire funding for the project. The Logical Framework Analysis (LFA matrix, Figure 10) is one of the most widely-used project management and planning tools (Wallace et al., 2006). It provides clear constraints on the kind of input that is relevant and how ideas need to be formulated. These templates are also used during this project visit as part of donor applications. Although I do not have access to the produced texts for detailed study, it is imperative that the reader has a basic understanding of what the participants are working with during the studied project visit.

Project elements	Description	Indicator and means of verification	Assumptions
Development objective			
Immediate objective			
Outputs			
Activities			
Inputs			

Figure 10: Logical Framework Analysis (LFA) matrix used in donor applications

This sort of planning tool comes to define the concrete work for Southern NGOs and the indicators according to which the results of their work are to be monitored and evaluated in the future (Elbers & Schulpen, 2013; Krause, 2014).

A number of issues have been raised with respect to project planning and writing. For instance, donors typically outline the criteria for the kind of projects that they are willing to finance e.g. target groups, development strategies, geographical areas, types of documentation required, planning for measurable outcomes etc. (Elbers & Schulpen, 2011; Wallace et al., 2006). All of this together constrains the kind of projects that can be formulated and ultimately funded. Escobar (2009, p. 147) and Wallace, Bornstein, and Chapman (2006) take issue with this 'one-size-fits-all' nature of development project planning where complex societal issues are transformed into pre-determined formats and categories in an LFA matrix. Similarly, Mosse (2004) argues that what is ultimately entextualized comes to reflect "a multitude of contradictory interests and cross-purposes" (2004, p. 45), all of which are "translated into a single technical-rational, politically acceptable, ambitious and ambiguous project model" (2004, p. 45). Finally, Tesseur (2019) problematizes how 'listening' to local partners' ideas when planning development projects is done with one eye on

producing documents, which contribute to demonstrating accountability rather than realizing the specific vision. Furthermore, this 'listening' is often carried out in English, ignoring the multilingual reality of development encounters and differential access to English as a working language (see also Wallace et al., 2002). Most fundamentally, critics question whether the standardization of development work through project cycles is at all compatible with participatory approaches where the needs, ideas, and contexts of Southern NGOs should take center stage (Wallace et al, 2006; Elbers et al., 2014; Powell, 2006).

To sum up, in this section, I discussed the ideological nature of managerialism, the way it can shape development encounters, and the project planning and writing phase specifically. In short, the managerialist logic not only legitimizes the need for text production activities as part of development work, but it also influences the content of development projects in ways that may serve the interests of donors more than those of Southern NGOs. The workings of the managerialist logic can also be traced in the empirical analyses carried out in this study.

In the following chapter, I launch the analysis of the project planning and writing process, and the social phenomena that can be seen to emerge with respect to broader institutional structures, procedures, and ideologies.

10

10. Planning and writing a development project

In this analytical section, I seek to answer two research questions: *how can the participants be seen to organize project writing as a reflexive manifestation of a broader institutional framework,* and *how do the participants make sense of their role in the project writing process against the backdrop of a broader institutional framework?* Following from this, in this chapter I analyze how participants, situated encounters, and broader institutional logics interplay with one another in the context of planning and writing a development project. I do this in order to explore how various social phenomena in this transient social configuration do not emerge in a vacuum but can be seen shaped by different factors – participants' knowledge, experiences and expectations, as well as institutional ideologies and requirements. My aim is to show that the 'new' that can emerge in transient social configurations is necessarily constrained (and enabled) by various contextual scales in different ways.

My first analytical entry point is the donor application templates which are taken up by participants in various ways (Section 10.2). How the process of project writing is socially organized can be seen to index participants' institutional roles in the text production process, as well as institutional ideologies which can shape the emergent discursive practices around writing donor applications. In addition to this, I explore how the participants themselves make sense of their role in the text production process. Here I particularly focus on what the participants' sense-making reveals about their expectations of how the text production should be socially organized, and to what degree these expectations may be influenced by institutional ideologies and historical processes.

My second analytical entry point concerns tracing the enregisterment of 'project language' over time across interactional and interview data as a locally established appropriate register for filling in donor applications. Project language, while an *in situ* developed social phenomena, can be seen to link situated linguistic choices with the participants' understanding of the broader institutional framework around them. Furthermore, project language is also topicalized by the Nordic volunteers as one of the potential factors which constrains how text production comes to be socially organized.

Some overall comments are in order as well. First, it is important to highlight that these two analytical focus points concern different objects of analysis. In the first

case, I investigate the process of working together, while in the second case I analyze metalinguistic commentary about producing a text. This has implications for my choice of how I have transcribed interactional data, which I clarify at relevant points in the analytical sections. Second, with considerations to space limitations, the examples I have chosen are intended as illustrations of more general processes. As such, I do not aim to provide comprehensive overviews of the phenomena in question. Rather, I focus on the most salient cases which I have identified as a result of long periods of immersion in the data. Third, I have chosen to treat interactional and interview data as separate social phenomena, whereby each data type provides its own vantage point on specific themes related to planning and writing a development project. Finally, where relevant, I also draw from other institutional documents and my observational fieldnotes for supporting some of my arguments.

10.1. The role of texts in the project visit

In this section, I provide an analytical gloss based on observations of the data on which texts circulate in, are evoked, or produced during the project visit. My aim here is to help contextualize the meetings that I analyze in this chapter from the perspective of the role of texts in various meetings over the course of this project visit.

Monitoring meetings (Days 1-2) – producing an evaluation report

As described in the analysis in Part I of this thesis (see Transcript 1, 1-2, 1-3 in Section 6.1.1 in particular), the participants agree upon a dual goal for the monitoring meetings. First, to elicit input on the progress of an ongoing project and entextualize this input in an evaluation report. Second, they agree to discuss ideas for the new project. During the meetings, the report template is used as a prompt for eliciting input. Alongside this, the three Nordic Solidarity volunteers can be seen producing three individual sets of notes, which they later write up outside of face-to-face encounters with the Swazi partners. I also observed the volunteers using these notes to draw general conclusions about the direction of the new project, in preparation for the brainstorming meeting on Day 3.

It is important to mention what led up to monitoring meetings. The Nordic volunteers explained to me that an empty report template had previously been sent to Swazi Democracy to be filled out. However, the Swaziland Group at the Nordic Solidarity headquarters had deemed it insufficiently filled out in some parts once they received it from Swazi Democracy. Thus, they identified a need for the Nordic volunteers to dedicate a portion of their time during the project visit to filling the gaps in the evaluation report. The questions posed by the Nordic volunteers during the

monitoring meetings are therefore directly informed by the information that had been deemed missing in the report. In other words, even as the Swazi partners were invited to account for the project's progress in their own words, it was suggested by the volunteers that the Swazi partners' perceived lack of expertise on what the report needs by way of content resulted in an insufficient report.

The issues around meeting reporting requirements have a long and contentious history between the two organizations, a topic raised by members from both organizations. But it is also an area of tension observed in development work more broadly (see Roberts et al., 2005; Bornstein, 2003, 2006; Elbers & Arts, 2011). However, since my focus is on planning and writing a development project, which takes up the bulk of the time during the project visit, and which concerns different templates, I refrain from going deeper into the challenges in meeting reporting demands.

Brainstorming (Day 3) – producing a mind map and Donor Green application

Prior to the brainstorming meeting, Liv and Ditte sit down to go over the notes they had thus far made during the monitoring meetings. On the basis of these, they conclude on three general areas which they see as potentially relevant to include in the new project. During this meeting, they also agree that they will produce a mind map with all of the ideas together with the Swazi partners.

At the start of the brainstorming meeting itself, Ditte proposes to produce a mind map on an empty A5 sheet based on all of the upcoming suggested ideas. She can be seen holding full control over the production of the mind map as she places the sheet in front of her on an office desk, rather than for everyone to have access to as previously agreed. As a result, she is the only participant with visual and physical access to the mind map. Furthermore, she is also the only participant who has an overview of what ideas and activities have been suggested and how they can be structured together into a coherent project. In addition to the mind map, Liv also types up meeting notes in her laptop, and at times Ditte also makes notes in her personal notebook. Meanwhile, Nelly can be observed making occasional notes in her notebook. Martha does not participate in the meetings on this day due to health issues.

As part of the established participation framework (see Transcript 2, 2-2, 2-3 in Section 6.1.2), the volunteers pose questions during this meeting which elicit ideas from the Swazi partners for the new project. The volunteers also provide feedback to the ideas presented by discussing how the new project can be structured based on these ideas (see analysis in Section 10.2.1).

Drafting the donor applications (Day 3-6)

Writing a new development project is in this case not a straightforward matter. The participants had agreed prior to the project visit to apply for funding from two different donors, Donor Green and Donor Red. This meant that the ideas which were agreed upon as core to the new project during the brainstorming meeting would be split into two applications. How to split the core project ideas between two applications was part of an ongoing discussion during the project visit, and entailed considerations of what the participants perceived each donor to be more willing to fund. I have excluded this analytical focus from my analysis due to space considerations, but these considerations do also come up when participants write the applications in 'project language' (see analysis in Section 10.3). My observations in summarizing the following text production meetings are all based on careful analyses of the textual practices, majority of which is the subject of analysis in Section 10.2.1. and 10.2.2.

On the same afternoon of the brainstorming meeting, Liv and Musa start drafting objectives for the Donor Green application (see application template in Appendix A), while Ditte and Nelly revise the budget for the ongoing project in another room. Liv and Musa can be seen drawing from the previous application to Donor Green, who had funded the ongoing project and many previous projects, and Liv's notes from the brainstorming meeting. These texts can be seen employed to help position the content and form of the new project so that it demonstrates progress in the political movement, and thus legitimizes the need for further funding from the same donor and for the same partnership. At this stage, Liv's input elicitation becomes a means for text production rather than simply generating ideas. Liv acts as the entextualizer and elicitor, while both suggest candidate formulations for the emerging text. Later, Ditte joins and changes the dynamic. Musa and Ditte can then be seen discussing which ideas to reserve for which donor application, while Liv either takes notes or types up sentence formulations. Throughout the duration of this afternoon meeting, Liv uses her personal laptop for the writing process, which is angled in a way that both Musa and Ditte have unobstructed visual access to.

On Day 4 of drafting the donor applications, the six core participants split into two groups of three to work on the Donor Red application (the LFA template, Figure 10). Each configuration distributes their tasks differently, although in both groups it is the Nordic volunteers who act as elicitors of input and entextualizers. The volunteers use their personal laptops for text production and angle them in a way that the Swazi partners have easy visual access to. Here the LFA template structures the input that the Nordic volunteers can be seen eliciting. However, at times the Nordic volunteers fill out the template without explicitly asking for input from the Swazi partners.

On Day 5, the project ideas are approved by the Swazi board in a morning

meeting, and the afternoon meeting is spent on finalizing any details in the donor applications. Minimal wording activities take place, but nevertheless worked out collaboratively. In stark contrast to previous meetings, in this meeting only the Nordic volunteers have visual access to their laptop screens as the six core participants all sit around a conference room table. As a result, only the Nordic volunteers have a full overview of the status of the application drafts. As a result, Liv is often asked to read out loud what it says in the application drafts.

On Day 6, there are five participants present, with Liv missing due to health issues. The remaining participants split into two smaller groups and work out the budget for the two applications. Similarly to previous text production meetings, the Nordic volunteers act as entextualizers and facilitators, eliciting budget input from the Swazi partners depending on the activities which they had previously agreed would be part of the individual applications. Majority of the calculations that are behind the final budget numbers are written down in personal notebooks by the Nordic volunteers for future reference.

With this analytical gloss of the role of texts over the course of the project visit I aimed to show how a variety of texts are either employed or produced at different stages of the project visit, in order to ultimately produce a new development project in the form of two donor applications. While these are the texts that can be directly observed to play a role in shaping or emerging from the meetings, there are also a number of other institutional documents which may play a role in more implicit ways. These are the partnership guidelines from Nordic Solidarity, donor application guidelines, guidelines for developing projects, and other documents which the Nordic volunteers may have obtained prior to the project visit. However, since I have not been able to secure access to the full range of texts that the Nordic volunteers used during the project visit, I refrain from discussing the potential role of these institutional documents. Meanwhile, it is notable that for the Swazi partners no institutional documents and texts were made relevant. Potentially because these do do not even exist, alluding to Rudrum's (2016) observation about the lack of emphasis on texts in institutions in the Global South.

In the next section, I launch the first analytical section in this chapter, focusing on emergent textual practices.

10.2. Donor application templates

One salient case of how different scales of context can be seen operating in situated encounters relates to filling in donor application templates[44]. Lemke (2000) argues that texts as material artifacts connect shorter- and longer-term processes both materially as well as indexically. In this analytical section, I precisely show how different layers of contexts can be seen to be evoked and thereby come to influence the emergent discursive practices in different ways. These layers of context can also be seen enabling and constraining participants' capacity to contribute to the text production process in different ways.

Building on the participation frameworks analyzed in Section 6.1, I first explore how the Nordic Solidarity volunteers come to function as entextualization gatekeepers (Section 10.2.1) by employing the template and other material resources which can be seen to legitimize their role. Meanwhile, the donor applications with their textualist criteria (Collins, 1996) for how to present and formulate project ideas can also be observed to shape the ongoing interactions around filling in the templates. At the same time, the volunteers also involve the Swazi partners in the text production process. This gives rise to practices related to frontstaging the entextualization process which can be seen to mitigate the gatekeeping effect (Section 10.2.2).

On the basis of these interactional observations, I argue that the ways in which the templates prescribe ways of engaging with them, and the ways in which they are taken up, index a broader institutional framework which in turn shapes the local context in various ways. More specifically, managerialism legitimizes the need for dedicating time and attention to producing the templates, while the workings of the partnership ideology can be traced in the way that it calls for involving the Swazi partners in the project planning and writing process. But the existence of these ideologies on their own is not as relevant as the observable operationalization of these by the participants in local contexts. In short, it is the combination of the templates' textual criteria, the participants who work on the templates, and the operationalization of the institutional framework which can be seen to impinge on the shape and form of emergent text production practices in this transient social configuration.

Complicating these observations, my interviews with the Nordic volunteers reveal that they take issue with having to function as primary entextualizers. Instead, after the project visit, the volunteers express a desire to organize the text production in a more collaborative way. Meanwhile, the Swazi partners, or Musa in particular, can be seen critiquing the emphasis on paperwork vis-à-vis strategic political work, which can potentially explain why he is perceived to not take as much of an active role as

[44] I refer to these templates interchangeably as 'donor applications', 'templates', 'project proposal', 'project application' etc.

he could. The analytical observations of the participants' sense-making with respect to the text production process therefore re-evoke the argument made in Chapter 7 that participants can enter a transient social configuration with pre-conceived ideas and expectations, although these may not necessarily come to be articulated or realized in face-to-face encounters.

10.2.1. The emergence of entextualization gatekeeping

In this analytical section, I explore the emergent practices which point to the Nordic volunteers functioning as entextualization gatekeepers. This entails how they filter ideas presented by the Swazi partners through the lens of the templates' textual criteria (Section 10.2.1.1.), and how they elicit input that meets these textual criteria (Section 10.2.1.2.).

10.2.1.1. Structuring the project in the brainstorming meeting

The Nordic volunteers' role as entextualizers takes on a gatekeeping quality already in the brainstorming meeting (Day 3). Even as the volunteers can be seen engaging in what can be called an "institutional data gathering period" (Trinch, 2003, p. 98), there is evidence to suggest that the volunteers can be seen 'scrutinizing' (Goodwin, 1994, p. 622) the presented ideas through the lens of the templates' textual criteria. This lends a gatekeeping quality to the volunteers' actions. More specifically, the ideas presented by the Swazi partners are not recorded verbatim, as it takes place in text production meetings proper. Instead, in the brainstorming meeting, Ditte can be seen grouping the ideas together into keywords on the mind map, which she then groups together into potential project objectives that later become relevant in filling in the templates. Furthermore, both Ditte and Liv can be heard verbalizing their suggestions for how to structure the project, which is illustrated in Transcript 7 next. In this sense, even as the template is *not* being filled in during the brainstorming meeting, it is the anticipation of its textual criteria that already shapes the unfolding interaction and how presented ideas are worked with in the here and now. As a result, the managerialist logic which emphasizes the relevance of institutional texts in planning and carrying out development work can be seen in full force in this situated encounter.

To illustrate, I explore one very salient example. The exchange in Transcript 7 takes place some 30 minutes into the 2-hour brainstorming meeting. While the participation framework for the meeting is built around elicitation-response sequences (revisit the analysis in Section 6.1.2), Transcript 7 shows the first instance in the brainstorming meeting where ideas presented are explicitly discussed. Thus, the example works to also demonstrate how presented ideas come to be worked with.

Prior to this extract, Musa had provided his response to Ditte's very first question,

after Nelly had struggled with providing an answer (revisit Transcript 1, 1-2, 1-3 in Section 6.1.2). After Musa's response, Nelly self-selects to speak next and suggests a bigger focus on media work as well as putting funds aside for a new staff member who would exclusively focus on media tasks. This idea is supported by Musa, which is where Transcript 7 starts.

Figure 11: Brainstorming meeting, recontextualizing ideas into template format

Transcript 7

10	*MUS:	I agree entirely and I support
11	%com:	Musa stretches out his hand towards Nelly at 'entirely'
12	*	and additionally to what she says
13	*DIT:	mmhm
14	*MUS:	we need that person not only media skills but (0.8)
15		investi[gat]ive cracking skills
16	*DIT:	[mm]
17	*DIT:	mhm (0.7) and do you think it's possible to find somebody here
18		(1.4) to do it
19	*MUS:	I think we do
20	*DIT:	mhm
21	*MUS:	but the skill we may need to: look somewhere else where
22		we can get an
23	*DIT:	mhm
24	*MUS:	someone to train
25	*DIT:	mhm
26	*MUS:	where we can
27	*DIT:	yeah
28	*MUS:	expos::e
29	*DIT:	yeah
30	*MUS:	that individual
31	%com:	Ditte starts to write on the mind map at turn end
32	*DIT:	so we should have training in this at least
33	*MUS:	yies [heavy] heavy training [day]
34	*NEL:	[mhm]
35	*LIV:	[((chuckles))]
36	(1.1)	
37	%com:	Ditte and Liv are making notes, the rest are idle

```
38    *DIT:   yeah that's also why I think it maybe should be an
39            objective itself
40    %com:   Ditte stops writing at 'yeah', Liv looks towards Ditte also
41    *MUS:   °yeah°
42    *DIT:   maybe together with the uhm::: (0.9) because (1.3)
43            in the last project and we haven't talked too much
44            about it but it's also an:: (1.4)
45    %com:   Ditte starts going through documents
46    *       an output saying something about ehm (1.8)
47    *       strategic (2.5)
48    %com:   Ditte looks through the documents during last pause
49    *LIV:   international lobby[ing ]
50    *DIT:                      [yeah]
51    *MUS:   hm
52    *DIT:   an:d (1.5) yeah pressure on:: (0.5) yeah (0.6)
53    *MUS:   ((smacks mouth))
54    *DIT:   international lobbying and maybe sending people
55    *MUS:   ((smacks mouth))
56    %com:   Musa leans back in his chair, stretching arms over head
57    *       in America there is what they call lobbyists
58    *DIT:   yeah
59    *LIV:   yeah
60    (0.6)
61    *MUS:   they are professionals
```

Musa expresses his support of Nelly (10-12) and adds that this (media) person should also have the capacity to conduct investigations (15). It is received with some skepticism in terms of local capacity to provide such skills, as evidenced in Ditte's response (17-18). Musa provides an account (19-30), which Ditte acknowledges throughout. Rather than further the idea, Ditte and Liv can from this point on be seen to 'recontextualize' (Bauman & Briggs, 1990, p. 74-75) the talk into being "bureaucratically processable" (Iedema, 1999, p. 63), i.e. the template's terminology. First, Ditte classifies the idea as an area for capacity building i.e. "training" (32) and then as "an objective itself" (39). She then attempts to pair it up with (42) something "strategic" (47), reformulated into "international lobbying" by Liv (49). In response to this suggestion, Musa instead launches into a conversational teaching sequence (57), which indicates that Musa treats the suggestion as lacking in relevant knowledge for some reason. I have not transcribed the full length of this conversational teaching sequence, but I continue to the analysis some 3 minutes later in the interaction.

Transcript 7-2

```
118   *MUS:   we need someone who will crack
119   (1.4)
120   *DIT:   so (.) what I think this could be: a (.) like a joint
121           part
122   *MUS:   yeah
123   *DIT:   of the project (.) research media lobbying
124   (1.0)
125   %com:   Ditte places marker on the mindmap and starts to write
126   *LIV:   something like (.) ((reads out loud from her notes)) strategic
127           targeting of relevant actors both through media (.) and
128   %com:   Liv looks up towards Musa
129   *       [lobbying  ]
130   *MUS:   [°lobbying°]
131   *LIV:   then also it's combined
132   *MUS:   °it's combined°
133           the only:: difference I: think is we can't make ONE
134           person do that (0.7) it will be too much for one person
```

Once Musa has closed his conversational teaching (118), he seems to return to his initial point that they need "investigative cracking skills" (line 15, Transcript 7), Ditte also returns to recontextualizing the ideas presented into a potential project structure (120-121, 123). Ditte's suggestion is supported by Liv who provides a first candidate formulation for an objective (126-129). This time, Musa aligns with the suggestion but starts to outline his concerns (133-134), which results in one more round of revising the objective until they reach an agreement.

This illustrative example showed the very first instance of how ideas from the Swazi staff come to be filtered through the lens of the template structure – objectives, activities, phrasing etc. (revisit the LFA matrix, Figure 10). The template thus provides an interpretive framework which structures how ideas are being processed into neat categories through the volunteers' 'professional vision' (Goodwin, 1994). In doing so, the volunteers can be seen embodying entextualization gatekeepers. It is through the volunteers claiming the authority to assess the presented ideas and recontextualize these into the rigid, hegemonic framework of the project template that the volunteers perform gatekeeping around how the project comes to be structured and formulated.

Simultaneously, the volunteers can also be interpreted to legitimize the institutional logic of managerialism and the hegemony of donors by attending to textual requirements and transforming the "messy social input […] into clear and graspable institutional output" (Maryns, 2013, p. 72), which ultimately allows the donors to evaluate the value of the project ideas (cf. Krause, 2014).

However, given the consideration that the volunteers can be seen giving to Musa's concerns, objections, or support, suggests that while the Nordic volunteers spearhead the process of decontextualizing and recontextualizing ideas into the templates' textual criteria, they do not seem to make final decisions without the explicit approval from Musa. This observation aligns with the observed frontstaging of the text production process to be analyzed in Section 10.2.2. However, what is

written down in the mind map (and potentially in Liv's meeting notes) in the brainstorming meeting, is actually a complex product of the dialogue between the volunteers and the Swazi staff members, as well as considerations of the templates' textual requirements.

In text production meetings proper, the content and social organization of talk are all the more prominently structured around the templates' textual criteria.

10.2.1.2. Elicitation-response-typing in text production meetings

In text production meetings, the volunteers elicit input from the Swazi partners and entextualize the responses in the donor application templates (see analysis of a typical participation framework in a text production meeting in Section 6.1.3). Here, gatekeeping comes into effect through the volunteers' access to material objects such as the laptop which holds the relevant templates, and their control of the interaction. Transcript 8 is an illustrative example of one the most common phenomena in text production meetings. It occurs with little significant variation, at least beyond the variations discussed in this analytical chapter as a whole. For this reason, I only analyze one brief example. In text production meetings, volunteers' elicitations no longer seek to 'gather data' but to secure specific input that meets the templates' textual criteria. In this way, the template, and the managerialist logic in which it is anchored, comes to structure the ongoing interaction and prescribes what may be considered relevant input.

The exchange in Transcript 8 takes place half way into the 2-hour text production meeting on Day 4, where the goal is to fill in the LFA template for Donor Red (revisit LFA matrix example, Figure 10). In this meeting, the group of six participants had split into two groups of three – Nelly, Martha, and Liv in one group, and Musa, Ditte, and Lucky in the other group. I analyze an example that concerns the latter group.

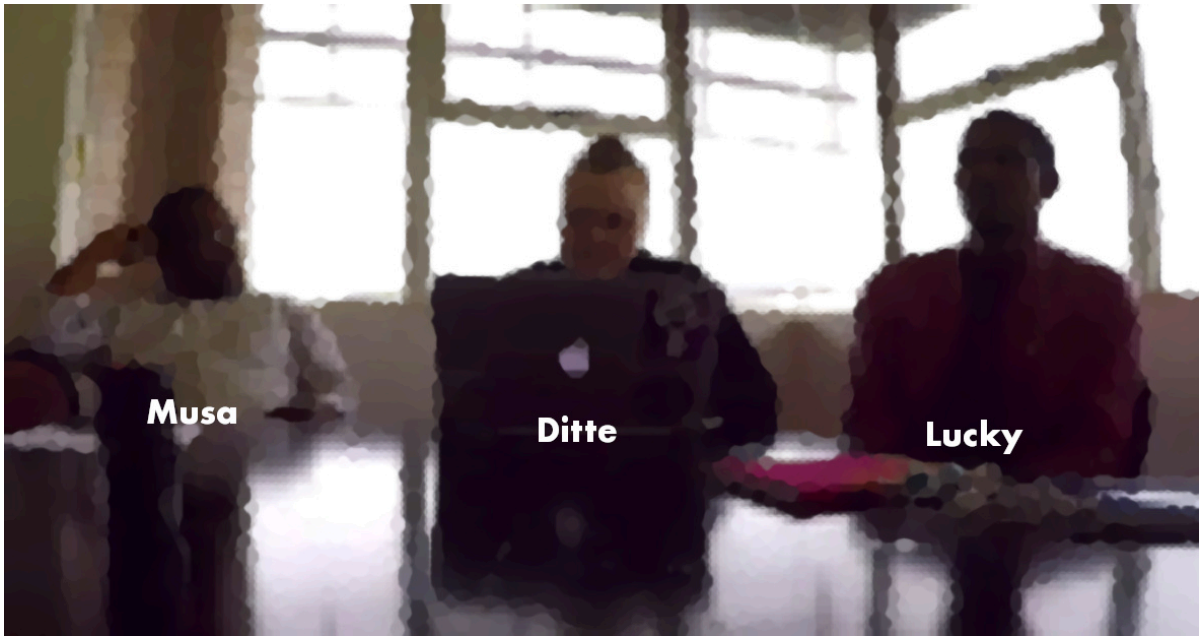

Figure 12: Text production 2, elicitation-response-typing sequence

Transcript 8

```
10    *DIT:    what is the indicators for the training
11    %com:    Ditte looks to Lucky at turn end, who then looks towards
12             the laptop, Musa looks down
12    *LUC:    (   [      ])
13    *MUS:        [how   ] much people attended
14    %com:    Ditte looks to Musa during overlap
15    *DIT:    yeah
16    *MUS:    the workshop (.) participated
17    (0.2)
18    %com:    Ditte looks towards the laptop, types for several seconds,
19             Musa and Lucky observe
```

First, Ditte asks for indicators for some training activity (10) which is presumably known/visible to the participants as she does not specify it, and yet her question is treated as meaningful. This question is quite likely prompted by the template as Ditte asks for an 'indicator' which is one of the categories in the LFA matrix. Ditte first looks to Lucky for an answer, who responds (12)[45] but is overlapped by Musa who also suggests possible indicators (13, 16). Once Musa has suggested an indicator, Ditte turns towards her laptop and without any further comment starts to type (18). Typically, when the answer has been deemed sufficient by the entextualizer, which is exclusively one of the Nordic volunteers, the answer is immediately typed up without any further comments. Cases where the answer requires further discussion are explored in Section 10.2.2.

Due to the lack of literature on communicative practices in development

[45] Given the poor audio quality, it is difficult to determine what Lucky says, and thus to discuss why his input is subsequently overlooked.

encounters, I draw from other institutional encounters that bear similarity with this sequence. Most prominently, the sequence of elicitation-response-typing is similar to studies of police interviews (Komter, 2002, 2006; Van Charldorp, 2011, 2013, 2014; Rock, 2001, 2017) and legal counseling (Trinch, 2001, 2003, Reynolds, 2018). In these settings as well, the institutional texts being worked on play a significant role in constraining and guiding the ongoing interactions, as well as what comes to be considered as relevant input. The prescriptive force of institutional texts is what Halldorsdottir refers to as the "dual directionality" of text and talk (Halldorsdottir, 2006, p. 264). Halldorsdottir argues that text and talk are not separate and distinct from one another, but "pervasively" (2006, p. 265) interwoven either through participants referring to texts in their talk, or through producing texts on the basis of their talk. It is in this way that the donor application template can be seen to shape the ongoing talk as much as the ongoing talk shapes the input for the template.

What these studies, and the present one, show is that the rights to entextualize (Bauman & Briggs, 1990), i.e. to turn talk into text, and to move forward the text production process come to be asymmetrically distributed. It is this asymmetry that lends a gatekeeping quality to the activity. However, in this particular setting, it is also important to highlight that Ditte asking for what the indicators could be for 'the training' is not insignificant. These indicators are meant to be used at the project assessment and evaluation stage e.g. the monitoring meetings which also take place in this project visit. By inviting the Swazi partners to define the indicators against which they will be measured in a future scenario grants the Swazi partners some measure of control over deciding what they need to deliver on. In this sense, while these text production meetings can be taken as gatekeeping encounters, they also bear collaborative characteristics.

That the volunteers can be seen making interactional efforts which transform text production into a collaborative activity can be taken as a way of mitigating the gatekeeping effect. In the following section, I explore salient examples of how this manifests in further examples.

10.2.2. The emergence of frontstage entextualization

Gatekeeping in terms of control over entextualization can easily be taken as a marker of power imbalance. However, the following examples of emergent discursive practices are akin to what Rock (2017) refers to as frontstage entextualization, that is, transforming text production from a gatekeeping activity into a (more) collaborative one. As I argue in this analytical section, this can be taken as ideologically-informed by the notion of 'listening' (Tesseur, 2019; Crack, 2019) which is often linked with partnership ideology and other participatory development approaches.

In fact, 'listening' has been called "the new buzzword in development" (Tesseur, 2019) although the term escapes a clear definition. 'Listening' can be seen to realize various institutional goals simultaneously, ranging from ensuring local partners' participation in project planning (Crack, 2019, p. 159) to realizing the accountability agenda of managerialism through producing institutional texts during a project cycle (Tesseur, 2019). In fact, 'listening' is directly referenced in Nordic Solidarity's partnership guidelines on how to carry out project planning[46], as well as topicalized in the Nordic volunteers interviews with me (see Section 10.2.4 to follow). With this body of evidence, it is difficult to *not* see the emergence of frontstage entextualization as a manifestation of the Nordic Solidarity's partnership ideology.

In this section then, I explore how the partnership ideology, and more concretely 'listening', is operationalized and can thereby shape the emergent discursive practices by making possible frontstage entextualization. Here, the templates continue to be central to the text production activities, but the collaborative way in which these are attended to mitigates the gatekeeping quality of how the templates are filled in. More specifically, frontstage entextualization is reflected in questions which seek to confirm the intended meaning of the ideas and formulations suggested by the Swazi partners (Section 10.2.2.1), and in being open to candidate formulations from any and all co-present participants (Section 10.2.2.2).

10.2.2.1. Confirming intended meaning

The Nordic volunteers' elicitations in text production meetings do not just move forward the text production process according to the templates' textual criteria (as shown in my analysis of Transcript 8), but also ensure that ideas are formulated and entextualized closest to the Swazi partners' intended meaning and vision.

Transcript 9 is an illustrative example of a typical case of confirming the intended meaning by the Swazi partners. The example comes from the early part of the first text production meeting, which takes place right after the brainstorming meeting (Day 3). In this meeting, Liv and Musa are working on writing objectives for Donor Green's project application. Prior to this extract, Musa tried to formulate an objective but was not satisfied with his suggestion. Liv then attempted to ascertain what is the essence of Musa's idea. The two conclude that they may need to revisit this particular objective at a later stage. Musa, however, is determined to continue and starts to explain his idea, which Liv responds to with an assessment (line 11, Transcript 9). Note that Liv does not simply type up what she may consider the right formulation of the objective,

[46] Due to anonymity concerns, I am unable to make these guidelines available. However, in paraphrased form, 'listening' should manifest through projects being designed on the basis of the needs and interests of local partners.

but seeks confirmation first that she has understood Musa.

Figure 13: Text production meeting 1, confirming intended meaning

Transcript 9

11	*LIV:	but now we make up (.) a whole third point
12	*MUS:	mhm
13	%com:	Liv types briefly; Musa looks at her screen
14	*LIV:	that should be (0.3) something along (0.3) Swazi
15		Democracy (0.3) will (0.2) strategically target relevant
16		actors through media (0.2) and international lobbying
17	(0.2)	
18	%com:	Liv gazes towards Musa at turn end
19	*MUS:	mhm
20	*LIV:	is that kind of it
21	*MUS:	yah (.) it it goes it goes very well with the
23	%com:	Liv looks to laptop at 2nd 'goes' and starts to type
24		turn end

Liv takes on the role of a problem-solver and categorizes Musa's contribution as a different objective, "a whole third point", from the one they are working on (11). While looking at the laptop screen in front of her, Liv summarizes what she interprets Musa to have said and formulates a hypothetical suggestion (14-16; turns marked in green). That the suggestion can be taken as hypothetical is indicated by the audibly marked speech which indicates to other interactants that an ongoing and hypothetical attempt at formulating a sentence is taking place (Kristiansen, 2017). Furthermore, it is hypothetical in the sense that it is yet to be accepted by co-participants before it can be entextualized. Indeed, Liv weighs candidate words out loud which makes it possible to include Musa in the drafting decisions, and allows the two participants to move jointly through the process of text production. Liv's hypothetically suggested formulation can then be approved, amended, or rejected by Musa. After a brief pause

(17), Musa produces an acknowledgment token (18). Rather than simply accept the acknowledgment, Liv pursues a clearer confirmation: “is that kind of it” (20), which Musa then confirms more explicitly (21). Liv’s confirming question suggests that while she may be the primary entextualizer with access to the laptop and the application template, it is Musa’s approval that seems to define whether a hypothetical formulation is ultimately entextualized. It is in this way that Musa can be seen being involved in the drafting process.

Seeking confirmation of intended meaning from the Swazi partners does not only manifest with respect to hypothetical formulations. It also manifests in the simple act of asking for details on previously discussed ideas for project activities. In other words, the Nordic volunteers do not invent or impose activity details of their own because the vast majority of content suggestions come from the Swazi partners. This next example is from the budget planning meeting on Day 6, where the group has split into two smaller configurations. Transcript 10 concerns Musa and Ditte’s interaction (top of Figure 14), who are working out the number of participants who will need transportation costs covered for a planned activity.

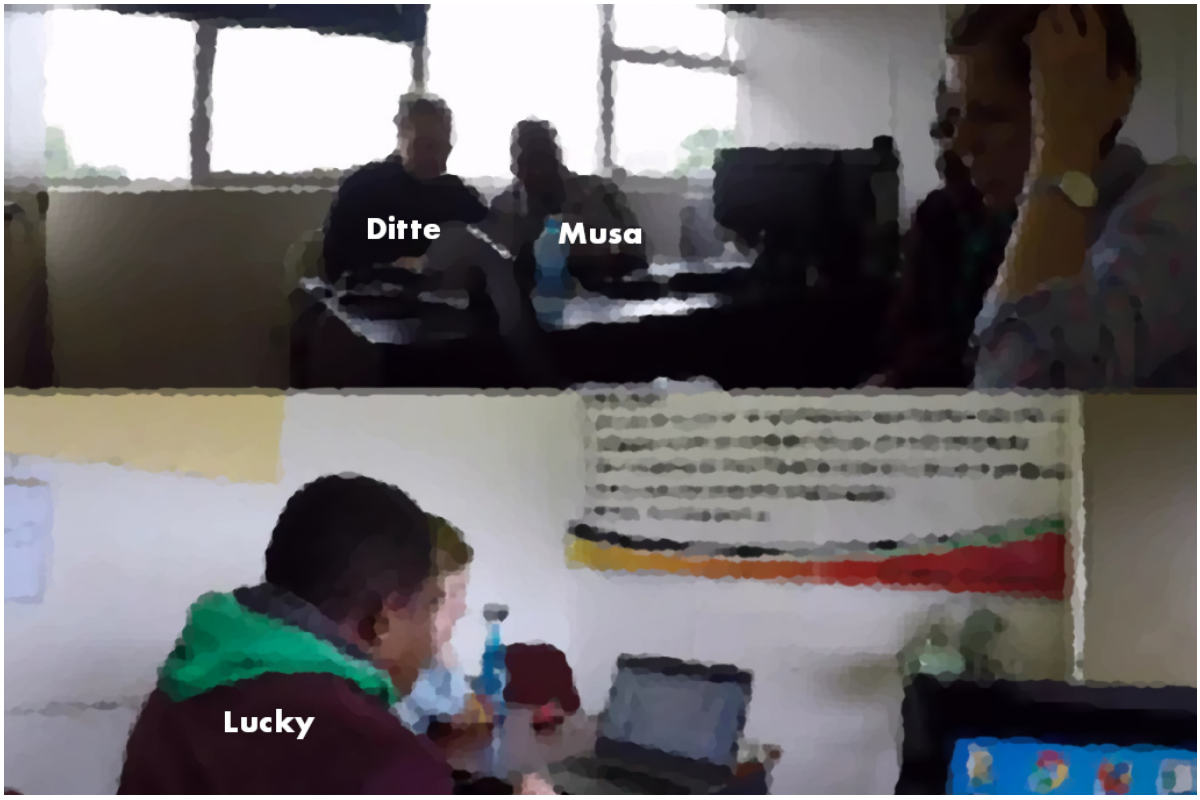

Figure 14: Budget planning meeting, asking for details on planned activities

Transcript 10

```
8     *DIT:   eeh there will be 30 organizers↗
9     %com:   Musa and Ditte make eye contact at 'there'
10    *(1.6)
11    %com:   both look back towards the laptop at pause start
12    *MUS:   30 organizers the board
13    %com:   Ditte starts to type at 'organizers'
14    *DIT:   [eight    ]
15    *MUS:   [the board] is what (.) eight
16    *DIT:   the board↗
17    *LUC:   yies
18    %com:   Ditte types while Musa observes
19    *MUS:   and the staff
20    *DIT:   and:: the staff
21    *MUS:   and the volun- no the:: volunteers
22    (2.0)
23    %com:   Ditte continues to type while Musa observes
24    *MUS:   so: it's thirty plus (.) eight plus (.) three plus (.)
25            two
26    (1.2)
27    %com:   Ditte continues to type as Musa observes
28    *DIT:   and it will be:: (3.3) yeah so we need (1.6)
29            that is transport huh
30    (0.8)
31    %com:   Ditte continues to type as Musa observes
32    *MUS:   yies
33    *DIT:   for all of them (1.9)
34    %com:   Ditte stops typing and turns towards Musa at turn end
35    *       and how much is it per person
36    *MUS:   sorry (.) how many are there
```

The extract starts with Ditte confirming whether the activity they are budgeting for will involve "30 organizers"[47] (8). Musa confirms this and adds that the board will also participate (12). Ditte then displays independent epistemic access by stating "eight" (14) which refers to the number of board members. In line 15, we see Musa coming to the same realization. Nevertheless, Ditte confirms that Musa is indeed talking about the board (16). Lucky suddenly turns his attention away from giving financial details to Martha, faces Ditte and Musa, and provides a confirming "yies" to their ongoing interaction (17). Ditte continues to type as Musa keeps a close eye on what Ditte is typing up. Musa adds that "the staff" (19) and "the volunteers" (21) need to be added. Presumably, Ditte writes these additions down. In lines 28-29, Ditte provides a partial verbal account of what she is doing, although her actions on the laptop screen are easily within Musa's line of sight. In line 29 and 33 together, we learn that Ditte is working on the budget for transporting all of the participants to the planned activity. She then asks for the cost of transportation per person (35). Rather than answer the question, Musa first seeks to confirm the number of participants that Ditte has been operating with (36).

Much of what is being discussed in this interaction remains opaque from an

[47] Participant term for local activists.

analyst's perspective as I do not have recordings of the laptop screen. Regardless, we do learn from the partial verbal accounts that Ditte is keeping Musa in the loop every step of formulating the budget – seeking confirmation of details and other relevant facts. Meanwhile, Musa is able to keep a close eye on what Ditte is entextualizing and to confirm her calculations. The exact same dynamic plays out with Martha, Lucky, and Nelly (see Example 2 in Appendix M).

The presented analyses of Transcript 9 and 10 illustrate Nordic volunteers seeking confirmation of intended meaning and details around planned activities from Musa. The examples show how the Nordic volunteers', while functioning as entextualization gatekeepers, involve Musa in the entextualization process. These two observed strategies can be interpreted as ways of assuring that the text produced reflects what the Swazi partners indeed have in mind for the new project. In this way, the Nordic volunteers can be seen carrying out 'listening' which enables a more active role for the Swazi partners to influence the content of the text being produced, as well as mitigates the gatekeeping effect of the volunteers functioning as entextualizers with sole access to laptops and relevant documents. Taken together, 'listening' is operationalized in a way that shapes the emergent textual practices to be more collaborative, while simultaneously constrains the Nordic volunteers' from moving forward the text production without explicit approval from the Swazi partners.

Finally, there is potential here to see the frontstaging of the text production process as institutionally-ordained 'listening'. Meaning that by the volunteers incorporating Musa in the drafting process, they can account for that what they ultimately entextualize is indeed a reflection of what the Swazi partners want for the new project, and thus in alignment with Nordic Solidarity's conceptualization of partnership and ways of formulating projects with local partners. 'Listening' can in this context then be interpreted as a rather *purposeful* way of incorporating the needs of local partners, according to the textual criteria of the donor application templates.

Even though Musa does not type a single word in these meetings, he and the other Swazi partners can nevertheless be treated as entextualizers in their own way. This is most clear in the examples analyzed in the following section.

10.2.2.2. Collaboration around candidate formulations

In this section, I analyze two illustrative examples where I highlight how the interactional floor is in fact open for all participants to contribute to the emerging text. These serve as further evidence that there is an orientation from the Nordic volunteers to frontstage the entextualization process, and thereby potentially carry out 'listening'.

The first illustrative example, Transcript 11, takes place in the text production meeting on Day 4, where Ditte and Musa are working on the Donor Red application in their sub-group. Immediately prior to this extract, Ditte had asked Musa whether

they should write a third objective for the application, which Musa agrees with. The extract starts with Ditte confirming whether they had agreed to put activities related to lobbying in the Donor Red application, rather than the Donor Green application (22-23).

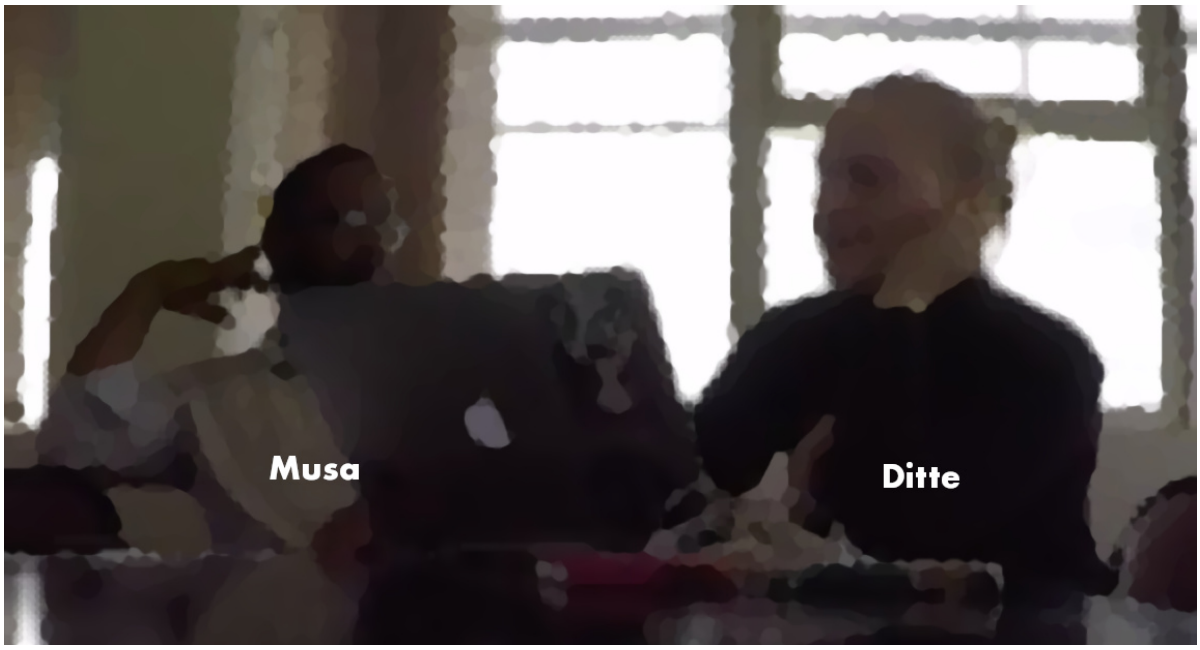

Figure 15: Text production meeting 2, collaboration around candidate formulation

Transcript 11

```
09    %com:    Ditte and Musa look at each other
10    *DIT:    we said we were going to put the lobbying the Donor Red
11             under [Donor Red project]
12    *MUS:          [Donor Red yeah   ]
13    *DIT:    yeah maybe we say: lobbying (.) international (.)
14             [stakeholders          ]
15    *MUS:    [lobbying regional and] international stakeholders
16    %com:    Ditte turns towards her laptop at turn end
17    *DIT:    but should that be: an objective on its own [maybe]
18    *MUS:                                                [yeah ]
19             Swazi Democracy has more influence
20    *DIT:    yeah
21    %com:    Ditte starts to type
22    *MUS:    in strategic (.) centers of
23    *DIT:    mhm
24    *MUS:    influence
25    *DIT:    yeah (0.4) ((types out loud)) Swazi Democracy (.) has:
26             (.) increased (.) influenc:e (.) or in:
27    %com:    Musa yawns and gazes away from the laptop screen
28    *MUS:    influence in strategic centers of
29    *DIT:    strategic
```

```
30    *MUS:    power (.) ah-ah (.) centers of [influe ]nce
31    *DIT:                                    [centers] of (.)
32             influence on Swaziland
33    %com:    Musa gazes at the laptop screen
34    *MUS:    on (.) Swa- (.) regional and international law
35    *DIT:    uhm: ((mumbles as she reads off her screen))
36    %com:    Musa looks away from the laptop screen
37    *MUS:    then [we will train:]
38    *DIT:          [regional      ]
39    (0.4)
40    %com:    Ditte is typing
41    *MUS:    we [will train::] (.) lobbyists
42    *DIT:       [and regional]
43    (0.4)
44    %com:    Ditte stops typing and looks at the laptop screen
45    *DIT:    mhm (.) mkmmm ((in a melodic way))
46    *MUS:    on strategic engagement
47    *DIT:    yeah so we do it like this
48    %com:    Ditte starts to type after 'yeah'
```

Once Musa confirms this detail (12), Ditte starts formulating the third objective (13-14). Musa overlaps with Ditte and suggests a change in the formulation (15). Rather than proceed, Ditte confirms with Musa whether the focus on lobbying indeed deserves an objective of its own (17). Ditte still has not started typing, which means that she can be interpreted to be in the process of seeking confirmation from Musa. Musa supports turning the activity into an objective, and formulates a hypothetical suggestion over several turns (19, 22, 24, 28, 30, 34). It is only after Musa's approval of turning the activity into an objective and his first part of the candidate formulation, that Ditte starts entextualizing his input (20-21). At times she can presumably also be seen writing out aloud what she is simultaneously typing up[48]. Ditte's verbal conduct indicates a general acceptance of Musa's text contribution, with a slight change evidenced in line where Ditte has replaced Musa's "more influence" (19) with "increased influence" (26). Although from line 35 it becomes unclear what Ditte has agreed to write down, given that Musa does not object and that he has visual access to the laptop screen, we can presume that what Ditte has entextualized by that point aligns with Musa's candidate formulations.

This example illustrates, once more, how Musa's contributions can be accepted with little to no discussion or changes. This shows that Musa is also treated as one of the entextualizers, even as he does not type up anything himself. Rather than Ditte deciding unilaterally how to formulate the application, thereby functioning with the full force of an entextualization gatekeeper, she orients to Musa as a co-participant with equal rights to influence the content of the application.

I expand on this line of argument with the next example, Transcript 12, where I

[48] Ditte's talk that occurs simultaneously to typing is marked in italics.

analyze a collaborative writing sequence between Liv and Musa. Here, Liv and Musa are working on an objective for the Donor Green application in the first text production meeting (Day 3). In the example, the two participants can *both* be seen suggesting, accepting and critiquing each other's candidate formulations.

Figure 16: Text production meeting 1, collaboration around candidate formulation

Transcript 12

```
*LIV:   okay (.)
        Swazi Democracy will strategically (.) target
        relevant actors through media and international lobby (2.5)
%com:   Liv looks towards Musa at turn end, Musa looks at laptop
        but relevant actors (1.0)
%com:   Liv looks at the screen during pause; Musa moves closer to laptop
        in relation to what
*MUS:   Swaziland will strategically target
        relevant actors (1.6) through media and international lobby
        ee:::h
*LIV:   no
%com:   Musa points to the screen
*MUS:   no::oh (0.8) Swaziland will- aah pts
*LIV:   [((chuckles))]
*MUS:   [£(       )£] strategically target (3.3)
        development partners (1.0) an:d (.) international NGOs (1.5)
        through (.) strategic (1.0) engagement (0.7) and lobby
%com:   Musa looks to Liv at turn end, who meets her gaze;
        Musa pulls his hand away from the laptop screen
*LIV:   but is it only them you wanna target you also wanna
%com:   Liv looks to Musa at 'them', Musa meets her gaze
        research about the government here
*MUS:   yies
%com:   Musa looks to the laptop; Liv leans forward on the table
*LIV:   so maybe we should frame it more (.) openly (1.0) ehm (3.4)
        something about Swazi Democracy will make themself more
%com:   Liv looks to Musa at 'Swazi'; Musa meets her gaze
        more visible (.) in the media↗
```

```
35    *MUS:   [yies]
36    *LIV:   [but ] will also (.) target (1.3) actors inflicted in Swaziland
37            it's very long now [£but£ he he]
38    *MUS:   [yeah       ] it's becoming too long
39    %com:   Musa adjusts how he is sitting in his chair, breaks eye contact
40    *LIV:   £yeah£
41    %com:   Liv looks at laptop screen
42    (3.5)
43    %com:   both look at the laptop screen
```

The extract starts with Liv reading out a suggestion for an objective (8-9, marked in blue) which she had previously written down in the document. By reading it out loud and then turning to face Musa at turn end (10), Liv can be seen seeking confirmation from Musa, in the same way that previous examples have shown. After a brief pause, Liv critiques her own suggestion for using the expression “relevant actors” (11). Musa re-orients himself to what Liv has written by first reading out loud her candidate objective from the laptop screen (14-16, marked in blue), following which both Liv and Musa reject it (17, 19). Thereafter, Musa attempts to rephrase the objective (19, 21-23). Liv responds by pointing out that the objective does not cover all of the goals (26-28), which Musa agrees with (29). This shows that both participants are allowed to critique each other’s candidate formulations. Only after securing Musa’s agreement that his objective is missing something does Liv proceed to suggest a reformulation (32-34, 36). Once again, Liv takes issue with her own suggestion, saying that it is too long (37), which Musa once again agrees with (38). Both of them then sit in silence while looking at the laptop screen. The exchange continues for several more minutes until they mutually work out the right formulation of the objective, which Liv then types up.

With this illustrative example, which is part of a longer exchange, I sought to emphasize the collaborative dynamic that can emerge in text production meetings and which supports the argument that the interactional floor is open for co-participants to influence the emerging text. Liv and Musa mutually grant each other the right to make candidate formulations as well as critique them, both as self-directed and other-directed critique.

Furthermore, in none of the text production activities have I been able to identify orientations to transgressions. This observation indicates that the activity of producing a text is across the board mutually treated as a collaborative one, even though the Nordic volunteers function as primary entextualizers by virtue of, at the very least, their access to a laptop and application templates.

These two examples on collaborating around candidate formulations have underscored my ongoing point that producing these donor applications is not a case of one participant writing on behalf of another. The Nordic volunteers can clearly be seen frontstaging the entextualization process by involving and making space for Musa to contribute to the emerging texts. The notion of ‘listening’ (Tesseur, 2019;

Crack, 2019) remains crucial to understanding how, or perhaps why, the text production process becomes collaborative. Despite the co-occurrence of the 'listening' idea, the templates, and the managerialist logic these index, exert a rather prescriptive force on the situated encounters, and continue to constrain even collaborative moments through the textual criteria the templates present.

There are some exceptions to the observed practices around frontstage entextualization. For instance, when Nelly, Liv and Martha sit together to work on the Donor Red application (Day 4), the dynamics that emerge are somewhat different (see Example 1 in Appendix M). In this meeting, Liv and Martha indicate verbally and non-verbally that they are struggling with the task. For instance, Martha often seeks out documents which help explain what the Donor Red application requires. In addition to this, Nelly is rarely oriented to as a relevant participant for candidate formulations, unless there are specific activity-related details she can confirm. At the same time, Nelly does not offer any candidate formulations of her own nor critique what is written down, but she does provide brief acknowledgment tokens when Liv and Martha together work out a candidate formulation. The same dynamic arises when Lucky joins Musa and Ditte during the same Donor Red text production meeting (Day 4), except Lucky does not provide any candidate formulations, and rarely confirms any suggestions, even despite Ditte's occasional efforts to pose questions directly to him (e.g. see Transcript 8). In these exceptional cases there may be an issue here with respect to specialized knowledge and linguistic resources required to contribute to the text production process, an issue often raised in existing literature on meeting textual demands within development (Roth, 2019; Roberts et al., 2005; Brehm, 2019; Bornstein, 2006). This is supported by the fact that when it comes to writing up the budget (Day 6), Lucky and Nelly take a very active role in providing details for the budget. In fact, even more so than Musa, who often turns to the former two for information about costs. In this sense, there are aspects of the donor application writing which Lucky and Nelly seem to be positioned at a greater disadvantage than Musa, and vice versa. The times when the Swazi partners are able to contribute more or less can be taken as a reflection of their job responsibilities which may have resulted in distributed areas of specialized knowledge.

11.2.3. Interim summary of findings

Before moving on to analyze the interview data, I briefly summarize my arguments thus far on the basis of my analyses of the interactional data.

In the preceding analytical sections, I explored the impact of the templates in the text production meetings, and how the templates are taken up by the participants in a way that enables the Nordic volunteers to act as entextualization gatekeepers. In doing so, the participants can be seen realizing the managerialist agenda which

emphasizes the relevance of texts in planning development projects, among other things. In addition to this, I explored how the volunteers can continuously be seen to mitigate the gatekeeping effect by frontstaging the entextualization process, that is, involving the Swazi partners, or Musa in particular, in the process of filling in the templates. As a result of this, Musa becomes a further entextualizer, although without ever typing a single word himself. On the basis of this, I argued that the volunteers' interactional efforts can be seen as a way of carrying out institutionally-ordained 'listening' to ensure that the project ideas are entextualized precisely as the Swazi partners want. In conjunction with this, I also discussed the potential impact of lack of specialized knowledge and linguistic resources to contribute to text production, regardless of how collaborative it is made to be.

Taken together, the textual practices observed in this case point to two ideologies co-occurring and shaping the emergent discursive practices in different ways – the managerialist and partnership ideology. In fact, studies have already noted the presence of these two incompatible ideologies in development work, the tensions around which participants report to tackle in a number of ways (Wallace et al., 2006; Elbers et al., 2014; Bornstein, 2003). However, since these studies are interview-based, little is known about how project planning and writing is carried out interactionally in other development encounters. Only Mosse's (2004) autoethnography as a development consultant working out a development project suggests that this process may indeed entail various stakeholders whose interests and logics need to be taken into consideration. The present study therefore provides unique empirical detail on this process and implicitly contributes to the ongoing discussions around the impact of managerialism to carrying out partnership in practice.

In the following section, I move on to the interview data and explore participant perceptions of their roles within the text production process.

10.2.3. 'Can we think of a third way to write some of the things together'

In this section, I argue that while the Nordic volunteers see their role as entextualizers, they would prefer to organize the application writing in a more collaborative way. This presents a kind of paradox as the observed conduct can already be taken as relatively collaborative. Alongside the Nordic volunteers' perspective, I also discuss whether the lack of reflections on the process of planning writing projects from the Swazi partners' side can be taken as an indication that they simply do not value meeting textual demands quite as highly as the Nordic volunteers. First, however, I discuss how all three volunteers see their role to encompass entextualization tasks.

In her pre-interview, Martha outlines the various steps she anticipates to be

carrying out during the project visit, all of which point to work with institutional texts.

Interview Extract 11

```
 1   KAT:  do you have any hopes for this visit personally professionally
 2   MAR:  ehm (1.4) I think personally I wanna be able to like (2.3) get some
 3         like really good ideas and and get (1.6) like the log frame
 4   KAT:  the what sorry
 5   MAR:  the log frame analysis
 6   KAT:  mhm
 7   MAR:  really fleshed out (0.7) cause I wanna use their ideas and like then
 8         I think (.) what we should do is just try and help formulate that in
 9         like an articulate way make sure that (.) ehm (.) the activities
10         will lead to outputs which will lead to outcomes (.) and then
11         reaching the overall (1.3) themes or like the overall goals of the
12         (.) programs and projects that are in place in Swaziland so that (.)
13         it does all link up and it's well formulated (0.8) and then I think
14         (1.1.) personally this is also £very good for my CV [as well£ ] haha
15   KAT:                                                    [sure sure]
```

In response to my question about what Martha hopes from the project visit, Martha outlines her professional 'hopes' – "get[ing] some good ideas" (3), fleshing out "the log frame analysis" (i.e. LFA matrix; lines 3 and 5), "help formulate [ideas] in like an articulate way" (8-9), "so that it does all link up and it's well formulated" (12-13). The emphasis on the relevance of articulation brings forth the idea that there is a benchmark against which input can be regarded as inarticulate and not well-formulated. By stressing this point twice, Martha seems particularly attuned to meeting the textual criteria of the LFA matrix rather than discussing ideas, or 'having answers' (Extract 2, Section 7.1). Finally, Martha adds that, personally, the experience will be "very good for [her] CV" (14). This point exposes the different stakes involved for the participants in this project visit, despite them working towards the same goal of producing a new project.

Martha's conceptualization of her role bears similarity with the notion of 'street-level bureaucrats' (Sarangi & Slembrouck, 1996; Celia & Campbell, 2005) who transform talk into standardized institutional forms and who can be seen to speak to and legitimize the institutional order. In this case, it would be the managerialist logic of producing texts to assure accountability, efficiency, and success with project design and implementation. At the same time, Martha's conceptualization of her role also aligns with De Sardan's (2005, p. 168-170) idea of 'development agents', who are said to function as mediators between different kinds of knowledge. De Sardan considers these two types of knowledge to be 'technical knowledge' and 'local knowledge', which aligns with my discussion around types of knowledge made relevant by the participants in their interviews in Chapter 7. However, in conjunction with this view, De Sardan argues that while development agents are trained to seek out local knowledge (cf. 'listening'), they are in fact often *not* trained to *mediate* between "two systems of meaning" (De Sardan, 2005, p. 171). As a result, they end up interpreting local knowledge into a terminology that is foreign to the local context

(cf. 'project language', Section 10.3) and thereby stand the risk of "mediat[ing] inappropriately or unilaterally" (De Sardan, 2005, p. 170). In this sense, Martha seems to have a clear idea about her upcoming role during the project visit, without much critical reflection around it, at least at this point, which shows her internalization of ideas related to managerialism and 'listening'.

In my pre-interview with Liv, she first discusses the best way to carry out development work in broad terms. In conjunction with this, she appeals to the relevance of text production as part of the work. Extract 12 is from the early part of the interview, and starts right after Liv has expressed her excitement about the upcoming task of carrying out the project visit.

Interview Extract 12

```
KAT:  so what's the exciting part
(1.0)
LIV:  ehm (1.1) well so I'm studying international development and
      journalism so I've (.) read about these subjects for many years (.)
      and I'm (.) quite interested in (.) development especially from
      below
KAT:  mhm
LIV:  where you work with people
KAT:  mhm
(0.5)
LIV:  ehm (.) that's also why I joined Nordic Solidarity because I like
      the way that (.) they go and they listen to the people instead of
      like trying to put things down on them
KAT:  yeah
LIV:  ehm (1.6)
((interview interrupted by research assistant bringing coffee))
LIV:  no so I like their approach very much
KAT:  yeah
LIV:  ehm (.) and I think (0.8) you can criticize development a lot of the
      ways that it's done but (1.1) I think one way to do it is to go and
      listen to what is your thoughts and what is it you want and then
      just try to (.) help out or structure their thoughts in some way
KAT:  mhm
LIV:  ehm so yeah I'm really excited to (.) go and try that out
```

Liv explains that she is "quite interested in development especially from below" (5-6) which she defines as "where you work with people" (8)[49]. She adds that she joined Nordic Solidarity because she likes how "they go and listen to the people instead of like trying to put things down on them" (11-13). With this brief statement, Liv can be seen evoking the history of development work which has partly moved from top-down interventions to adopting participatory approaches (Section 2.2.), such as 'listening', which I have discussed previously. However, she can also be heard referring to Nordic Solidarity's own guidelines around partnership and listening. In this sense, what Liv says next, after the interview is briefly interrupted, can potentially be seen to

[49] 'Development from below' is a loaded expression within development, pointing to various participatory approaches (such as partnership, 'listening') which stand in contrast to top-down development interventions (Escobar, 1995; Long & Long, 1992; Chambers, 1997; see also history of development in Section 2.2).

provide a useful explanation, if not a script, for how to carry out development with a Nordic Solidarity approach.

Liv first displays her awareness of the critique that development has received and then positions it against carrying out development work by "go[ing] and listen[ing] to what is your thoughts and what is it that you want" (20-21). Once again, the notion of 'listening' is made relevant which for her entails being open to thoughts and needs, presumably those of the local partners. However, Liv also adds that this way of working would also entail "try[ing] to help out or structure their thoughts in some way" (22). While she does not clarify what she means by 'structuring', nor did I realize the relevance of what Liv was saying at the time, 'structuring' someone's thoughts nevertheless implies that there is a need to do it. It also implies that one has the power to structure another's thoughts. Furthermore, it suggests that what is presented by way of thoughts and needs is potentially 'unstructured'. The question then becomes – 'unstructured' according to whose standards? As I have shown through my analyses of interactional data, the structure is primarily imposed by the donor-defined format of the application templates. It is this particular discursive format that the Nordic volunteers can be seen drawing from to fit local partners' ideas and needs into a 'bureaucratically processable' form. Thus far then, Liv's broad understanding of how to carry out development aligns with both Martha as well as the practices observed in the interactional data.

A bit later in the pre-interview, she articulates how she sees her own role in the upcoming project visit. This was not prompted by a particular question of mine nor by the discussion right before, but a topic Liv initiates herself after a brief pause in the interaction.

Interview Extract 13

```
1   LIV:  but it gets more and more clear to me that (0.7) we are there to
2         (1.2) to write their thoughts down in some way (.) ehm (.) so it's
3         it's so much about them I think (1.2) £we're just the middle man£
4   KAT:  yeah
5   LIV:  £who has to get them money kind of right£
6   KAT:  yeah
```

Liv explains that "we are there to write their thoughts down" (1-2) in order to "get them money" (5). In other words, the volunteers are in Liv's view meant to entextualize local partners' ideas in order to acquire funding for them, i.e. they are there for the benefit of the Swazi partners. She further frames the volunteers' role as being "the middle man" (3), which aligns with De Sardan's idea (2005) of mediating development agents. For Liv, however, mediation takes place between the donors and their local partners for the purpose of acquiring funding for Swazi Democracy. In other words, Liv's emphasis is on serving Swazi Democracy first, rather than the donors.

Finally, Ditte's reflections on her role in the project visit are considerably more

nuanced, presumably because she had been part of Nordic Solidarity for almost a year by that point. The extract which most clearly illustrates Ditte's understanding of her role is when she reflects on her experience during the project visit in her post-interview. I include the extract in its entirety, but draw the reader's attention to two moments in particular. First, when Ditte calls Nordic Solidarity an "employer" (14), and second, when Ditte claims that their part of the partnership is to "write the proposal" (19).

Interview Extract 14

KAT: do you feel that the format worked so the way you structured how you were going to write proposals how you organized the day with the organizers (.) all of that
DIT: mm:: some of it some of it not […] I think the working with the staff was on some days a little hard especially like (.) the first day (.) where in the beginning it was really good but as soon as we wanted to write something with them it went (.) like totally £weird£ ((laughs)) […] because if we're working a week on a project it will be the SAME like bad days and good days right
KAT: mhm
DIT: but it's more this yeah I don't think I have ever understood this (.) way of Nordic Solidarity being (.) it's the place (.) where you see that Nordic Solidarity is:: (.) is the partner organisation but it's also (.) like we're also the employers (.) somehow we could at least stop the collaboration or we could even maybe:: work (.) for Musa to get fired or like (.) we have some power as well ((goes on to describe how the Swazi partners have been on a steep learning curve about project work)) but it's also okay because our part of the partnership is to write the proposals and stuff like that but it's also (.) a little:: (.) it could (.) be nice (.) I think if it was more if they took ownership about some of it

Ditte shares that it is in the project writing meetings that it becomes clear to her how Nordic Solidarity is a partner as well as an employer (13-14). We do not learn what these particular situations have been that have given her this impression, but she makes the example of having the power to have Musa fired (15-16). Ditte's realization of her institutional power highlights that Nordic Solidarity volunteers are able to claim institutional rights which the Swazi Democracy partners cannot. In other words, one that the Nordic Solidarity volunteers have greater leverage in dictating the terms of the partnership and designing projects, while it is in Musa's interest to stay in line of Nordic Solidarity's expectations in order to maintain the partnership, as well as access to funding and income for himself and the staff. In fact, the financial asymmetry observed in partnerships has already received considerable criticism within development studies (Lister, 2000; Markowitz & Tice, 2002; Elbers, 2012). These studies argue that the ideals of partnership cannot be realized in a context where the Northern NGOs hold the purse strings. Regardless of the financial leverage, however, Ditte claims that Nordic Solidarity's contribution to the partnership is still to write the proposal, i.e. the project proposal (18-19), which aligns with Liv and Martha's understanding of their role during the project visit. In fact, Ditte goes so far

as to discuss how the Swazi partners have been on a steep learning curve regarding development projects, which appeals to the idea that this 'technical/organizational knowledge' (Mawdsley et al., 2002; De Sardan, 2005) is the value Nordic Solidarity adds to the partnership. To summarize, from Ditte's perspective, the volunteers' role encompasses not only entextualization, but also gatekeeping with respect to funding opportunities as a whole.

It is clear that there is considerable overlap among the volunteers that they see their role as entextualizers. While Liv and Martha see this role as a mediating between donors and their local partners, Ditte highlights the gatekeeping inherent in their role. But where could this shared idea of their role as entextualizers come from? In the project visit plan (Appendix N) it is laid out who needs to be consulted in Swaziland to acquire relevant information about the progress of the project, alongside four different kinds of institutional texts which are listed as 'deliverables'. In this sense, this shared idea of the volunteers' role can for a large part stem from the institutional mandate laid out in the project visit plan.

Moving on to the feedback session with the Nordic volunteers, three months after the project visit, the volunteers express dissatisfaction with their role as entextualizers. The four video clips which I showed to the volunteers in the feedback session (see transcripts of clips in Appendix J) prompts them to ongoingly air their issues with having to function as the primary entextualizers. Although the observed conduct analyzed in Section 10.2.2. showed a collaborative approach to writing the donor applications, from the Nordic volunteers' perspective, this process was not collaborative enough, or at least not in the right way. In the interest of space, I only discuss one instance of how this issue was topicalized.

Extract 15 is part of a reaction to the fourth and final clip which is where Martha can be seen asking Musa some clarification questions to be able to finalize the status report (see Clip #4, Appendix J). After sharing their first impressions of what is going on in the clip, the volunteers discuss feeling constrained by the time-restriction and reporting demands during the project visit, which they say hinders them from focusing on establishing relations instead[50]. For some reason, this discussion prompts Ditte to suddenly terminate the discussion and, once again, problematize the process of project writing instead.

[50] In fact, spending more unstructured time with local partners has been suggested as a solution for avoiding putting too much emphasis on producing reports and other texts (Mawdsley et al., 2002, 2005).

Interview Extract 15

```
 1   DIT:  yeah I think the really difficult part is to decide (.) okay should
 2         we us:e (.) a week asking questions and listening and go home and
 3         write: the entire application ourselves or should we try (.) because
 4         it feels a bit (.) for ME it feels like should we try to force on
 5         these collaborations where we sit down and write things together or
 6   KAT:  mhm
 7   DIT:  create or it should be
 8   MAR:  yeah
 9   DIT:  or CAN we think of a third way of doing things like (.) where we (.)
10         are actually able to do (.) to write some of the things together or
11         to make the
12         (0.5)
13   MAR:  I think that's something that we really struggle with now, right
14   DIT:  yeah
15   MAR:  we can't I don't think I think it's really difficult to write
16         together
17   DIT:  yeah write together or at least make this paper we had in the first
18         clip together or
19   MAR:  yeah
```

Ditte describes the challenge in deciding whether to focus on "asking questions and listening" (2) during the project visit, and then fully taking on the task of writing the applications (3), or whether there is a third way to write things together (9-11). The crux of this juxtaposition seems to be rooted in Ditte's experience and feeling of "forc[ing] on these collaborations where we sit down and write things together" (4-5). Martha supports Ditte by stating that it is indeed "really difficult to write together" (15-16). In other words, how the volunteers experienced writing things together was not optimal from the Nordic volunteers' perspective, and so they express a desire for a more collaborative organization of text production activities.

Furthermore, that there is even a reflection about how best to go about writing applications and reports, highlights that there are no un/official guidelines for this process. More broadly, this means that how the participants socially organize project planning and writing is established *in situ* rather than following a pre-defined script, even as they had a very clear idea about their role as entextualizers. What is interesting here is how the collaborative quality which I identified in the emergent textual practices was in fact not subjectively experienced as collaborative. My impression of the reasons for why the volunteers did not perceive the Swazi partners being collaborative, based on their accounts and my own observations in the field, is perhaps due to mismatched expectations around role distribution which are never actually discussed or verbalized during the project visit. While I find this a very relevant point to analyze and discuss in the context of transient social configurations, I refrain from elaborating on this as it goes beyond the research questions that I seek to answer in this analytical theme.

After spending a considerable number of pages analyzing the Nordic volunteers' perspective, what is it that the Swazi partners say about text production activities and

their role within it? The short answer is – not all that much. The lack of reflections on this process is perhaps an indicator of taking for granted how things are organized and that there are perhaps no perceived issues. It is often in the case of perceived transgressions against the expected order of things that participants reveal their normative expectations (Garfinkel, 1984), such as when the Nordic volunteers classify writing together with the Swazi partners as difficult and express a desire to organize it more collaboratively. Given that the Swazi partners do not raise any issues with respect to how text production is organized, it may be that it was carried out as they have been used to over the course of previous project visits with other Nordic Solidarity delegations. However, an equally valid interpretation is that meeting textual demands is not valued as highly by Swazi partners, as Musa alludes to in Extract 16.

Extract 16 is taken from my interview with Musa during the project visit where I did not explicitly ask him about my observed prevalence of paperwork. Prior to this extract, Musa outlined the problem with Nordic volunteers changing with each delegation. He then quite suddenly changes the topic:

Interview Extract 16

```
1   MUS:  we need to do::: while we understand and appreciate the need to do:
2         bookkeeping administration (.) it remains key (.) and we don't have
3         a problem in Swazi Democracy about that […] it's safe to say that I
4         think that […] we need to invest more in the analytical thinking and
5         creavitity
6   KAT:  mhm
7   MUS:  because our struggle (.) in one's view (.) demands a hell lot more
8         of that (.) we can spend more time on the bookkeeping and
9         administration and stuff (.) but that may not in any way (.) help
10        (.) us hit where it matters […] otherwise we will write one project
11        and then write another one and then write another one before you
12        know it it is 30 years
```

The extract starts with Musa formulating a long concessive clause, which is typically used to express the opposite of the first part of the sentence (Cambridge University Press, 2008). He says: "while we understand and appreciate the need to do bookkeeping and administration […]" (1), "we need to invest more in the analytical thinking and creativity […]" (4-5). In other words, Musa's point is hidden in the second part of his sentence – the relevance of "analytical thinking and creativity" which their "struggle […] demands a hell lot more of" (7-8).

The latter is a point that Musa repeatedly expresses in his interviews with me, as well as during the project visit meetings. This discussion – whether projects help or hinder the political movement - was also raised twice by the director of Swazi Democracy. Once in a board meeting, and once in a private meeting with the Nordic volunteers. It is also a topic that Ditte often expresses in her interviews as a source of doubt whether project work actually makes a difference. In short, it is a topic that has a wider social meaning and circulation during this project visit.

Finally, Musa critiques paperwork in that it “may not in any way help us hit where it matters” (9-10). In fact, Musa brings up the expression “hit where it matters” several times after this interview extract, using it to critique the relevance of projects if these do not revolve around activities that actually challenge the Swazi regime.

Musa’s brief and unprompted reflection highlights how paperwork, such as “bookkeeping administration” (2, 8-9) and projects, should not be the main point of their political movement. In this sense, Musa does not take issue with text production meetings as such but with the broader managerial ideology which stresses the relevance of producing various institutional texts and which, in his view, does not further the political movement. From this perspective, it becomes a little bit clearer how the Nordic volunteers end up functioning as primary entextualizers. It is potentially because Musa’s emphasis is on strategic thinking. In this sense, both parties can be seen operating on the basis of their pre-established ideas about their own and each other’s role in the project visit, but without ever making these ideas explicit to one another as a point to discuss and agree upon.

My analyses of the interview data clearly show that the Nordic volunteers perceive of their role in the project visit to primarily encompass entextualization tasks, and in some sense also gatekeeping tasks of ‘structuring’ the local partners’ ideas into a ‘bureaucratically processable’ form. Central to carrying out entextualization tasks is said to be ‘listening’ to local partners’ needs. Up until this point, what the Nordic volunteers say they do and what they actually do are very much aligned. However, as discussed, what the volunteers see themselves doing goes against their preference for writing texts in a more collaborative way with the Swazi partners, a grievance which emerges only after the project visit. I juxtaposed these reflections with the lack thereof by the Swazi partners. In the latter’s case, I discussed whether the lack of reflections is a marker of a historically-entrenched experience and expectation that Nordic Solidarity attends to donors’ textual demands, not valuing the bureaucratic side of project work quite as highly as strategic thinking for the political movement, or potentially even both.

10.2.4. Summary

In this section, I explored how text production comes to be carried out through emergent discursive practices, as well as how the participants perceive of their role within that process.

In the case of interactional data, the volunteers can be seen acting as entextualization gatekeepers, while also visibly involving the Swazi partners, or Musa in particular, in the text production process. Crucial to these observed practices are the donor application templates which can be seen to shape the ongoing interaction.

Furthermore, the ways in which the template is taken up by the volunteers makes relevant institutional ideologies related to partnership and managerialism.

The interview data revealed that the volunteers see it as their role to attend to producing institutional texts, and which they also do in practice in various ways. However, how text production comes to be organized during the project visit seems to go against the volunteers' own expectations or preferences for how to carry it out. Meanwhile, the Swazi partners, or Musa in particular, can be seen actively participating in the text production process by providing input, but Musa ultimately seems to devalue the relevance of paperwork compared to thinking about political strategy.

By exploring observed conduct and interview accounts related to the theme of writing a development project, I have ongoingly made the point that the participants' expectations of their role in text production activities, and how these are actually carried out in practice, do not emerge in a vacuum, but point to the workings of institutional ideologies related to managerialism and partnership, carried out through the idea of 'listening'. These different scales of contexts can be seen being activated in the way that the Nordic volunteers take up the task of filling in the donor application templates. It is through this reflexive relationship between various scales of context that the emergence of social phenomena is shaped.

In the following analytical section, I move from investigating the process of working together to investigating how the participants can be seen producing the donor application templates on a linguistic level.

10.3. Project language

In the process of producing donor application templates, the participants can be seen working up what they refer to as 'project language', a professional 'register' (Agha, 2003, 2007) which they deem appropriate for writing donor applications. In this section, I analyze the enregisterment (Agha, 2003, 2007) process of project language, evidenced in the participants classifying certain linguistic choices as writing in 'project language' (Sections 10.3.1 and 10.3.2). Investigating the enregisterment of project language in the context of transient social configurations is relevant as it points to the participants' understanding of the donors for whom they are writing applications, and how the idea of project language allows them to appeal to (what they understand to be) donor interests on a linguistic level. In other words, project language can be seen to mediate between participants' linguistic choices made in situated encounters and the broader institutional framework of applying for donor funding. Project language, and the way in which it is operationalized by participants, can thereby be seen as a further entry point into understanding how a broader social framework can be evoked to shape the social phenomena that emerge in transient social configurations.

The idea of project language is carried from the project visit into the interviews which take place *after* the project visit. More specifically, Nordic volunteers' can be seen topicalizing project language as one of the reasons for why the Nordic volunteers come to function as primary entextualizers. In this sense, the perceived issue of lack of collaboration around text production, as discussed in the previous analytical section, is therefore revisited from a new angle (see Section 10.3.3). Furthermore, and also similarly to the previous analytical section, project language is also not a relevant topic for the Swazi partners, which is why the analysis of interview data is once more primarily focused around the Nordic volunteers' perspective.

10.3.1. Project language as an institutional register

Project language can be understood as a bureaucratic language that bears similarities with other institutional languages such as legalese in legal contexts (Mellinkoff, 1963; Tiersma, 1999; Coulthard & Johnson, 2007; Gibbons, 2003), academic writing style (Hayot, 2014), police speak (Calligan, 2010), and other documented bureaucratic languages (Charrow, 1982; Redish, 1983; Iedema, 1994) used to produce anything from birth certificates to grant applications. The similarity primarily lies in the idea that every institution can be seen to have its own professional register which entails some kind of specialized vocabulary.

The institutional language of development work has only recently received scholarly attention. The "language of development" or the "lexicon of development"

has been argued to entail "catchwords that need to be sprinkled liberally in funding proposals and emblazoned on websites and promotional material" (Cornwall, 2010, p. 1-2). At the same time, as Cornwall aptly points out, the jargon of development is "densely populated with ideological projects and positions" and yet "so diffuse that their ideological implications become clear only in the context of their use by particular positioned, social and political actors" (Cornwall, 2010, p. 10). This point is echoed by De Sardan (2005) who is thus far the only scholar to mention "what we may call the 'project language'" (p. 179). De Sardan considers project language a "development dialect" (2005, p. 179) in that it emerges as heterogeneous across development encounters, manifesting as a set of keywords specific to each individual development project, and influenced by the project's focus area, the stakeholders it encompasses (including donors, partners, development agents), and the development approaches which the project partners subscribe to (cf. 'listening'). At the same time, De Sardan views project language to be geared towards those in charge of the decision-making within international development (e.g. donors), as project language is not seen to "penetrate the local language" (2005, p. 178) nor to be influenced by local languages, and yet, it is paradoxically supposed to speak to the interests of local communities. Producing projects in project language therefore becomes a matter of translation not only across languages but also across contexts (Chibamba, 2018; Maclean 2007), which, as De Sardan argues, can result in forms of 'project language' specific to particular configurations of people, ideologies, and circumstances.

With this as the backdrop, this analytical section precisely investigates the kind of project language that emerges in this social configuration, and the kinds of social meaning that it is imbued with over time by the participants in this study. What makes project language all the more salient as an *emergent* social phenomenon is the fact that donor applications do not specifically call for a particular register to be used, beyond limiting the choice in terms of named (major) languages such as English, French etc. (e.g. see Donor Green's call in Appendix A). In this sense, project language has not been institutionalized, and is perhaps indeed best seen as a 'register' with distinct practices recognizable for a specific group of people. To trace this enregisterment process, I analyze patterns of metapragmatic commentary, where sentence formulations are evaluated and classified by participants as instances of 'project language'.

However, as Mortensen and Fabricius (2014, p. 219-220) note, also drawing from Agha (2003, p. 232), social meaning does not come about out of nowhere, but originate from the historical experiences of the participants; experiences which they can bring into a new transient setting to be negotiated with other co-participants. In this sense, the emergence of a register, such as project language, can be seen to

take place in a reflexive relationship between participants' exposure to various (historical) frames of reference and situated encounters where new forms of social meaning can be negotiated and established *in situ*. Project language is one manifestation of such a process, and which can be taken as a link between participants, situated encounters, and a broader institutional framework.

Project language increasingly takes on a more nuanced meaning as time goes on and as the participants move along the textual trajectory. The first example, Transcript 13, is taken from the first monitoring meeting on Day 1. This is the first time that project language is referenced and therefore constitutes the first time that project language is talked into being. Prior to this extract, Musa had raised an idea for the new project which would entail doing research so that future projects are targeted at areas that can hit the regime where it is potentially weakest[51]. In this way, Musa claims, they can create more impactful projects based on what the political movement actually needs to realize the democratic vision. After presenting this claim, Liv asks a clarifying question and refers to a member of Nordic Solidarity by name, who has already done similar research that Musa is talking about.

Figure 17: Monitoring meeting 1, juggling with project language

[51] Although the monitoring meeting concerns evaluating the progress of an ongoing project, at the start of the meeting it was agreed that they would at the same time discuss ideas for the new project (see Transcript 1, 1-2, 1-3, in Section 6.1.1). Hence, why there is a need for a discussion of an idea already at this early stage of the project visit.

Transcript 13[52]

```
8     *LIV:   but research is that more like you could do
9             yourself like more in-depth research like [name] is
10            doing or is there not enough resources for that
11    *MUS:   I don't know whether research is the right word [to use]
12    *DIT:                                                  [mhm   ]
13    *MUS:   I don't know whether intelligence is the right word to use
14            not sure if strategic think tank would be the right word
15            to [use but] I think you are getting my point to say
16    *DIT:      [£mhm£  ]
17    *MUS:   we nee::d one or two (.) who will dedicate themselves (.)
18            around scratching for instance (.) who: are the KEY (1.0))
19            backers of this regime
20    *DIT:   mhm
21    *MUS:   how much do they pump (0.7) to Swaziland (1.2)
22            where is it going
23    (2.3)
24    *DIT:   but you know (.) we even tried it (.) putting in (1.8)
25            eeh research in one of the [Other Swazi Org]'s projects
26            for example
27    *MUS:   hmm
28    *DIT:   and eh it's (1.4) £it never worked out£
29    (0.7)
30    *MUS:   that's why I'm running away from research
31    *DIT:   £yeah yeah yeah£
32    *MUS:   £that's why [I don't  ] want to call it research£ hehe
33    *DIT:               [£I agree£]
34    *DIT:   £but it's eh it's eh I think£ I- I really agree with you
35            a lot of-
36    *MUS:   it's just that also I'm I'm juggling with the
37    *DIT:   yeah yeah
38    *MUS:   project language
39    %com:   Musa makes airbunnnies while saying 'project language'
40    *DIT:   mhm
41    *MUS:   I also am running away from calling it intelligence
42            collection [cause it sounds too (       )]
43    *DIT:              [no but I think I think you're] raising
44            an important point that I would like to discuss more like
45            how do we get more ehm:: (1.7) more knowledge
```

In response to Liv's clarifying question, Musa mentions several terms which he doubts are "the right word[s] to use" (13-15). He then (re)formulates his idea once more and provides examples of questions that need answering (17-19, 21-22). After a brief pause (23), Ditte takes the floor and reveals that research had already been included as part of the project for another Swazi organization that Nordic Solidarity partners with in Swaziland (24-26). Ditte claims that "it never worked out" (28). Musa is not deterred by this information and uses it to argue that "that's why I'm running away from research" (30). Ditte expresses alignment (31) and agreement with Musa (33), but she is cut off by Musa who goes on to frame his talk as "juggling with the project language" (36, 38). By framing his preceding talk in this way, Musa's consideration

[52] Since in this analytical section on project language my object of analysis is metapragmatic commentary, I have chosen to only transcribe the participants' verbal conduct. Multimodal transcription is provided only where it serves to contextualize specific turns where needed.

of different terms can be understood as imbuing the idea of ‘project language’ with the practice of weighing lexical items which express the right strategic meaning. The open question at this point is the audience for whom these terms may be designed (cf. Bell, 1984, 2002). Musa is therefore not just the first participant to make relevant ‘project language’, but also the first one to imply that it is not just about the content of the project, but also about how it is formulated.

The second time that formulating the project is explicitly framed as a matter of working with project language takes place on Day 3, during the first text production meeting. Transcript 14 represents an exchange an hour into the meeting between Liv and Musa, who are working on formulating objectives for Donor Green. They are then also joined by Ditte, who had just finished a parallel meeting going over the budget for the ongoing project with Nelly, the accountant. The extract starts from the point where Ditte enters the room.

Figure 18: Text production meeting 1, project language stops creativity

Transcript 14

```
8     *DIT:   eh how are you doing (1.1) ha ha ha
9     %com:   during pause Liv stops typing, looks up to Ditte
10            and smiles, then turns gaze back to laptop and
11            starts to type; Musa also looks up, smiles and
12            shakes his head
13    *LIV:   £making obhjecthives£ it's (.) [hard ]er than you think
14    *MUS:                                  [(   )]
15    *LIV:   [he he] he he   ]
16    *DIT:   [yeah ] and it's]
17    *MUS:   [(   ]]
18    *MUS:   we're stuck
19    *DIT:   you're stuck (0.8) do you need assistance
20    *MUS:   we had done this in the morning
21    *DIT:   huh↗
22    *MUS:   we should have done this in the morning
23    *DIT:   yeah but (.) you [know     ] (.)objectives
24    *MUS:                    [(   ) had]
25    *DIT:   the objectives that uhm::
26    *MUS:   hm
27    *DIT:   stops the creativity
28    *MUS:   ((chuckles))
29    %com:   while chuckling, Musa moves away from the laptop, Liv and
30            Ditte to check his phone, which he continues to do the
31            rest of the extract
32    *DIT:   £huh↗ writing project language£ just stops the creativity
33    (0.6)
34    *MUS:   eeh
35    *DIT:   don't you think
36    *LIV:   °yeah°
37    *MUS:   [mhm        ]
38    *LIV:   [but we have] (.) three at least eh work ob[jectives] now
39    *DIT:                                              [hmm↗    ]
```

In response to Ditte's question upon entering the room, Liv and Musa indicate non-verbally that there is some trouble involved in how they are doing. That there is trouble involved is confirmed by Liv: "making objectives [is] harder thank you think" (13). In addition, Musa states that "we're stuck" (18). Ditte uses this as an opportunity to ask whether they need assistance (19). To this Musa produces a complaint that they should have done this in the morning (20, 22). Ditte acknowledges this complaint but challenges it by saying that "objectives stop creativity (25, 27), and later formulating it into "writing project language just stops the creativity" (32). Putting aside Musa's embodied disengagement from Ditte's rejection of his complaint, which suggests a certain level of tension at play, Ditte's reference to project language stopping creativity underscores the point that writing donor applications is not just a simple matter of producing a text, but one that requires careful consideration on a close linguistic level, and which is not particularly 'creative'.

Similar examples which demonstrate specific sequences of producing texts take place in subsequent meetings, the text production meetings proper. These examples are analyzed and discussed in the next section.

10.3.2. Use of project language in text production meetings

In essence, as Sarangi and Slembrouck (1996) point out, any use of bureaucratic language by an institutional representative can be identified as the language of that institution (Sarangi & Slembrouck, 1996, p. 8). However, the examples discussed here concern instances where the ongoing text production is *explicitly* labelled as 'project language'.

The exchange in Transcript 15 takes place at the beginning of the second text production meeting, the day after (Day 4) the previous example. Here, Ditte and Musa (later joined by Lucky) are working on the LFA template for Donor Red. The example should be partly familiar to the reader as I previously analyzed it in an extended form for how the participation framework is established (Transcript 3, Section 6.1.3). In this case, I focus exclusively on turns concerning candidate formulations. Prior to this extract, Ditte opened this subgroup meeting by asking "what should the wording for the campaign be Musa". After a brief clarification sequence about the immediate goal of the meeting, Musa started to formulate a candidate sentence: "Swazi Democracy have more capacity on …", after which Ditte positioned her hands to start typing. This is where Transcript 15 begins.

Figure 19: Text production meeting 2, working on the Donor Red application

Transcript 15

```
49    %com:   Ditte starts to type while Musa looks at her screen
50    *MUS:   ci- circulate information (1.1) and
51            crea:te (0.5)
52    *LIV:   sorry Ditte
53    %com:   several minutes not transcribed, Liv asks a question from
54            Ditte who turns to look at Liv to respond; thereafter
55            Ditte looks back at the screen, Musa also turns his gaze to
56            the screen
57    *DIT:   hhh. so Swazi Democracy and affiliates
58            have more capacity
59    %com:   Ditte starts to type while saying 'capacity'
60    (1.2)
61    %com:   Ditte types during pause
62    *MUS:   to circulate
63    *DIT:   to circ- (2.6) circul:ate
64    %com:   Ditte types throughout her turn
```

Musa reformulates part of his initial suggestion to "affiliates has more capacity to" (47) and continues the formulation (50-51) alongside Ditte's typing. The pair is then briefly interrupted by Liv (not transcribed). After Ditte attends to Liv's question, she returns to the ongoing task with Musa. In lines 57-58, marked in blue, Ditte reads out loud what she had presumably typed up by that point, and begins typing again with "capacity" (56, marked in italics to indicate talk that co-occurs simultaneously to typing). Musa begins to feed words to Ditte from line 62, which we can see Ditte taking up (63). Formulating the objective continues in the next part of the transcript:

Transcript 15-2

```
65    *MUS:   relevant in-
66    (0.5)
67    %com:   Ditte types
68    *DIT:   relevant and
69    (1.8)
70    %com:   Ditte stops typing, briefly looks at the screen, then
71            gazes at Musa
72    *DIT:   [rel-]
73    *MUS:   [rel ]evant and informative
74    *DIT:   ((starts to type)) informativ::e
75    (2.5)
76    %com:   Musa and Ditte look at the screen
77    *MUS:   information
78    *DIT:   information or
79    (1.2)
80    %com:   Musa and Ditte look at the screen
81    *MUS:   on: (.) human rights
82            and good governance issues
83    (1.3)
84    %com:   Musa and Ditte look at the screen, Ditte positions hands
85            to type
```

```
86    *MUS:   in the country
87    (4.7)
88    %com:   Ditte types
89    *DIT:   and you're good at the: Donor Red
90    (0.7)
91    %com:   Ditte gazes towards Musa
92    *MUS:   hm↗
93    *DIT:   you're good at the Donor Red language
94    %com:   Musa and Ditte chuckle briefly in overlap
```

Transcript 15-2 shows how Ditte looks to Musa for continuing the sentence at several points (70-71, 91), while she otherwise continues to type, alongside Musa feeding her relevant words to write down the objective. What I want to draw the reader's attention to is how Ditte evaluates Musa's ongoing contributions as him being "good at Donor Red language" (89, 93) which makes both of them chuckle (94). In this case, Ditte specifies that their way of using language concerns Donor Red. In fact, as this and the examples to follow show, project language comes to be further defined as using language to speak to Donor Red and Donor Green's funding interests.

In this case, there is indeed evidence which points to a strategic use of keywords as activators of Donor Red's funding interests, i.e. Donor Red/project language. First, 'human rights' and 'good governance' are two keyword expressions which have been called "buzzwords" in development (Cornwall & Eade, 2010). First, Uvin (2010) describes how an exclusive focus on economic growth characteristic to the early development approaches paved the way for more *human rights*-focused approaches (among others, see also the history of development in Section 2.3). Second, Mkwandawire (2010) discusses how lack of *good governance* has been seen as the main obstacle to economic growth in developing countries. Taking these scholarly discussions into consideration, Musa's choice of keywords – "human rights" (80) and "good governance" (81) should not be seen as coincidental, but rather a strategic use of language that targets Donor Red's funding interests.

In fact, that these are the funding interests of Donor Red is more a reflection of the participants' understanding than based on concrete evidence, because at the time of this project visit, Donor Red had not yet released a grant call. This is evidenced in an exchange that took place during the brainstorming meeting, the day before Musa and Ditte sat down to work on the Donor Red application. Transcript 16 is part of a longer exchange during the brainstorming meeting, where the participants discuss which activities could be reserved for Donor Red. As part of this discussion, Liv raises the issue that they need to know what the theme of the call will be.

Transcript 16

```
10    *LIV:    but we must see what the call of action is (.) we don't
11             even know what their subject is in Donor Red
12    *MUS:    it's human rights (.) they always hide behind human rights
13    *DIT:    yeah
14    *MUS:    this human rights thi:s human rights tha:t
15    *DIT:    it's human rights and sometimes it's eh (.) culture and arts (.)
16             and sometimes it's yeah
17    *MUS:    mhm
```

After Liv has formulated the issue, Musa immediately takes the floor and states that the subject for Donor Red call will be "human rights" (12), which they reportedly "always hide behind" (12). Ditte supports this, repeating that the theme will be human rights and adding that "sometimes it's culture and arts" (15), which is acknowledged by Musa. Fast forward to a day later where Musa and Ditte are working on the Donor Red application (Transcripts 15 and 15-2 previously) and where Musa can be seen referencing "human rights" (80), together with "good governance" (81), as keywords for an objective in Donor Red's application.

In light of Transcript 16, Ditte's evaluation of the sentence suggested by Musa as 'being good at Donor Red language' (Transcript 15-2) should be seen as recognizing Musa's strategic choice of words, words which speak to at least one of the themes previously discussed by the two participants as relevant for Donor Red. In this way, Ditte's evaluation evokes the register of project language, more concretely classified as Donor Red language, and enregisters it to entail a strategic choice of keywords, presumed to appeal to a particular donor.

The following, Transcripts 17 and 17-2, together support this argument and show how the participants produce donor applications, both on a linguistic as well as structural level, on the basis of their perceptions of donor interests. The examples are taken from the final planning meeting on Day 5, where the participants discuss any loose ends in the project proposal. As part of this meeting, there is a 30-minute period where the participants collaboratively work out an overall thematic objective for the Donor Red application. The following examples are part of this discussion.

Prior to the exchange presented in Transcript 17, Ditte asked to discuss strategies for how to formulate the Donor Red application in a way that it can stand on its own while also supporting the Donor Green application[53]. The Nordic volunteers then begin to outline what they had agreed to include in the Donor Red application and re-emphasize that the final choice will depend on the Donor Red funding call. It is at this point that Musa takes the floor, highlighting that the Donor Red application is

[53] This was relevant because in the case of successfully acquiring funding from both donors, in practical terms it would still be carried out as one cohesive project by the Swazi partners. This meant that the donor applications would classify as a case of 'co-financing', where two donors fund the same project in different ways, and which they would need to be informed about.

already well-formulated. However, the issue he sees is in the application's lack of thematic anchoring. This is where Transcript 17 begins.

Figure 20: Project language, going with the funder

Transcript 17

```
10    *MUS:    what I think we have not done in as far as Donor Red
11             that we have done with Donor Green .hhh is for instance (.)
12             pitch the: or (.) the the the thematic
13    *DIT:    mhm
14    *MAR:    mhm
15    *MUS:    what will be the [themat-] the: what (.) on what will it [be ]=
16    *DIT:                     [yeah   ]
17    *MAR:                                                              [mhm]
18    *MUS:    =be centered on
19    *DIT:    mhm
20    *LIV:    yeah
21    *MAR:    yeah cause I think that's where I'm struggling a little [bit ]=
22    *DIT:                                                             [yeah]
23    *MUS:                                                             [yes ]
24    *MAR:    =to see it as its own independent [project]
25    *MUS:                                      [yies   ]
26    *DIT:                                      [mhm    ]
27    *MUS:    which means we we must also be cautious when we do that that (.)
28             it's a bit loose it's a bit (.) mi::ld
29    *MAR:    yeah yeah yeah
30    *MUS:    so that it goes with the funder
31    *MAR:    yeah
32    *DIT:    mhm
33    *MUS:    eeh we can then be as radical as we like
34    *DIT:    yeah with Donor [Green   ]
35    *MUS:                    [on with] £Donor Green£
36    *DIT:    ((chuckles)) but maybe: [we should]
37    *MUS:                            [as an     ]
```

Musa outlines that they need to work on "what will [the application] be centered on" thematically (15-18). Martha supports this point, stating that she struggles to see the Donor Red application "as its own independent project" (21, 24). Musa's solution is to "be cautious" (27), so that "it's a bit loose […] a bit mild" (28) and "goes with the funder" (30). Musa suggests that in order to appeal to Donor Red, they have to pick

a theme which is ‘a bit loose/mild”. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Musa sees the potential to “be as radical as we like […] with Donor Green” (33, 35). There are in fact several instances of similar moments of metacommentary where the participants discuss their understandings of the characteristics of the two donors. In broad terms, Donor Red is seen as politically ‘non-progressive’, while Donor Green is seen as more closely aligned with the ‘progressive’ views of the participants and their respective organizations. It is these perceptions of donors that the participants seem to use as a basis for deciding how to structure the applications in terms of activities as well as how to formulate the project on linguistic level.

Immediately after the above exchange, Musa goes on to precisely apply his understanding of donors to formulating an overall thematic objective for the Donor Red application:

Transcript 17-2

```
38            as an attempt to do tha::t (1.0) I would say building an
39            inclusive (1.5) yeah they like these terminologies
40            [these] Donor Red people
41    *DIT:   [he he]
42    *MUS:   building an inclusive (.) society (.) Swazi soc-
43            building an: an inclusive Swazi society (2.0)
44            could be one
45    *DIT:   but I think that is a little too broad [so it  ]
46    *MUS:                                          [little] too broad
47    *DIT:   a little too broad
48    (2.1)
49    *MUS:   eehm deepening democracy in Swaziland
50    *MAR:   sorry↗
51    *MUS:   deepening
52    *MAR:   deepening
53    *DIT:   deepening (1.7) or building an inclusive Swazi society
54            through arts and culture o:r
55    *MUS:   oh [yeah  ]
56    *MAR:      [that’s] a [that’s] a yeah
57    *LIV:                 [mhmm  ]
58    *MUS:   yeah NOW you are speaking Europe
59    %com:   everyone laughs
60    *DIT:   £I’m only concerned that£ you know (.) Other Swazi Org
61            just had an arts and culture project
```

Musa produces a hypothetical suggestion (38-39, 42-44; marked in green) and evaluates his own suggestion to contain terminology which is likely to appeal to Donor Red (39-40). Musa’s evaluation underscores the point that choice of keywords is a central part of formulating donor applications strategically, and as previously discussed, is related to using project language.

But the interaction continues, because Ditte evaluates Musa’s suggestion as “a little too broad” (45). Taking this feedback into consideration, Musa changes his formulation (49). Ditte implicitly rejects it and suggests a hypothetical suggestion of her own (53-54). Ditte can then be seen drawing from *her* understanding of Donor

Red's interests (Transcript 20) and adds "through arts and culture" to Musa's suggestion (54). Musa's immediate evaluation seems to be supportive (55), together with Martha (56) and Liv (57). In fact, Musa goes so far as to say that "NOW you are speaking Europe" (58). This comment is immediately treated as meaningful by everyone in the room as they burst out in laughter for an entire minute.

Treating Musa's comment as a laughable suggests that there is shared knowledge about what the comment means. Indeed, Tranekjær (2017) has argued that talk which is treated as laughable by co-present speakers can be taken as indication of shared knowledge. Following this line of thinking, I would argue that what is at stake in writing these applications is appealing to "Europe", which is knowledge that seems to be shared by the participants, and which can potentially denote a way of speaking that is specific to the geographical region of Europe. Since it is known that both of the donors are based in Europe, I would argue that Europe is used as a shorthand for these European donors whose interests need to be taken into consideration in producing the applications.

Finally, although neither project language nor a specific donor language is mentioned in Transcript 17 and 17-2, the examples make relevant ways of using language which participants have previously classified as instances of using project language. More specifically, the strategic choice of lexical items or keywords which are seen to appeal to specific donor's funding interests.

To summarize, in this analytical section as a whole, I have explored how the participants talk into being the register project language, a distinct way of using language to produce donor applications. The participants' metapragmatic commentary reveals how they enregister project language to concern producing donor applications through strategic choice of keywords which the participants presume would appeal to different donors' funding interests. In other words, the enregisterment of project language reveals connections between the broader institutional framework, specifically through participants' understandings of donor interests, and the linguistic choices made by the participants in situated text production activities. In short, the idea of project language is one further salient social phenomenon which illuminates how what may at first glance seem an *in situ* accomplishment is in fact shaped by broader social structures, at least in the way that the latter is made relevant by participants in situated encounters.

Talk about project language is not contained to face-to-face encounters, but also emerges as a topic in its own right during the post-interviews and feedback session with the Nordic volunteers. How this theme emerges in this data type is discussed in the next section.

10.3.3. 'We are working in something that was created in the Global North'

The idea of project language is also carried into and brought up in my interviews with the Nordic volunteers after the project visit. Most prominently, the historical origins of project language in the Global North is topicalized as the reasoning for why it is the Nordic volunteers who come to, and perhaps also should, function as primary entextualizers in text production meetings. The fact that project language continues to be topicalized can be taken as evidence of an ongoing process of enregisterment, initially launched during the project visit. In this sense, the following analyses of two key interview extracts also function as analyses of the continued enregisterment of project language.

Liv is the only one out of the three volunteers to individually discuss whether project language may have implications for how the volunteers end up functioning as entextualizers of the project applications.

Interview Extract 17

```
1   KAT:  what worked really well with Swazi Democracy
2   LIV:  ((describes the day with the organizers)) ehm I think it was hard to
3         sit with Swazi Democracy and actually try to write the LFA which is
4         the project proposal
5   KAT:  yeah
6   LIV:  and maybe it shouldn't really be their job either because that's eh
7         (.) the project language ((makes airbunnies)) and that's what WE
8         should write I think so what worked really well…
```

Liv expresses that she found it "hard to sit with Swazi Democracy and actually "try to write the LFA which is the project proposal" (2-4). However, she concludes that perhaps it should not be the Swazi staff's job to write the proposal because it entails using "project language" (7). Liv seems to suggest that some aspect about project language conditions the Nordic volunteers to take on a more active role in the text production process. However, she does not elaborate on this point, nor did I find it relevant to pursue the statement further at the time.

Liv's statement stands in contrast with her later position in the feedback session where she critiques having to do all of the writing without active involvement from the Swazi partners. These extracts from the feedback session, which also include similar positions taken by the other Nordic volunteers, are analyzed next.

The following discussion ensued as a result of me showing one of the first clips during the feedback session (see Clip #1 in Appendix J). The reaction to this clip set the tone, one could say, for the rest of the feedback session where the participants continued to air their issues with having had to function as primary entextualizers. The clip in question was taken from the brainstorming meeting where Ditte can be seen sitting with the mind map sheet in front of her and asking for ideas from the Swazi partners. After the first round of group analysis of what is going on in the clip, I enquire about the choice to place the sheet in front of Ditte so that only she had exclusive

access to it. I do this because in a brief meeting before the brainstorming meeting, Liv and Ditte had specifically agreed to place the sheet so that everyone would have access to it, but this is not what happens in the meeting itself. Ditte seems to treat my question as criticism of her and proceeds to outline the difficulties in organizing the shared work due to her perceived lack of engagement from the Swazi partners' side. Martha then takes the floor and recounts how they had all been to a Donor Green workshop some days prior to the feedback session and where they realized that many NGOs struggle with jointly producing donor applications with local partners. Liv adds to this discussion by concluding that the notion of them as facilitators of the writing process may be "embedded". This is where Extract 18 begins.

Interview Extract 18

```
LIV:  I think we ended up (.) discussing that maybe it's just so embe-
      embedded that (.) we are the facilitators
DIT:  mhm
LIV:  and they are so used to that
DIT:  mhm
LIV:  and then they just lean back a little bit (.) because we have taken
      or not we have taken but it is so that we have the more facilitator
      role (.) and (.) then they (.) don't challenge that [as much]
MAR:                                                      [mm     ]
KAT:                                                      [mhm    ]
MAR:  but we are but then like [exactly as you said it's that]
LIV:                           [that's we know what that is  ]
MAR:  we are working (.) in something that was created (.) in the global
      North using the [lang]uage that we created in development
DIT:                  [mm::]
LIV:  yeah and all these indicators
MAR:  and all these things that we kinda (   ) so it
DIT:  yeah (.) but both yes and no because:: (.) in in our situation we
      are the new ones to this [I mean]
MAR:                           [true  ]
LIV:  [Donor Green] comes from Nordic country
DIT:  [Musa knows ]
DIT:  of course of course but Musa knows the language
LIV:  yeah
DIT:  [if you ask]
LIV:  [so that's ] maybe it's just a: habit
DIT:  yeah I think so a lot of it is habit
LIV:  yeah
KAT:  we will get [back to that in the next clip actually] he he
                  [((LIV and DIT chuckle))               ]
DIT:  but also mm (.) what was I just thinking (.) yeah because I I know
      that all three of these people they are really good facilitators
KAT:  mhm
DIT:  of a discussion of (.) like of:: (.) all kinds of debate like Lucky
      for god's sake is an organizer
KAT:  yeah
LIV:  but are they good writers
DIT:  no: (.) not necessarily (.) not in writing the project but in this
      situation ((points to the clip))
LIV:  [yeah]
KAT:  [yeah]
DIT:  they could as well facilitate this situation
```

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18   DIT:  yeah (.) but both yes and no because:: (.) in in our situation we
19         are the new ones to this [I mean]
20   MAR:                           [true  ]
21   LIV:  [Donor Green] comes from Nordic country
22   DIT:  [Musa knows ]
23   DIT:  of course of course but Musa knows the language
24   LIV:  yeah
25   DIT:  [if you ask]
26   LIV:  [so that's ] maybe it's just a: habit
27   DIT:  yeah I think so a lot of it is habit
28   LIV:  yeah
29   KAT:  we will get [back to that in the next clip actually] he he
30                     [((LIV and DIT chuckle))                  ]
31   DIT:  but also mm (.) what was I just thinking (.) yeah because I I know
32         that all three of these people they are really good facilitators
33   KAT:  mhm
34   DIT:  of a discussion of (.) like of:: (.) all kinds of debate like Lucky
35         for god's sake is an organizer
36   KAT:  yeah
37   LIV:  but are they good writers
38   DIT:  no: (.) not necessarily (.) not in writing the project but in this
39         situation ((points to the clip))
40   LIV:  [yeah]
41   KAT:  [yeah]
42   DIT:  they could as well facilitate this situation
43   LIV:  yeah
44   DIT:  maybe not maybe they would have more problems in:: (.) like
45         structuring objectives and stuff but I know that they can facilitate
46         a discussion
```

Liv implies that they are implicitly expected to function as the facilitator. Although the facilitator role does not necessarily entail someone acting as an entextualizer. However, as subsequent turns show, being a facilitator is seen to require knowing the relevant language (14, 23). This suggests that Liv's understanding of the facilitator role may also encompass entextualization tasks. In fact, 'language' is evoked by Martha, who points out that the volunteers are working with a language "that was created in the Global North […] that we created in development" (13-14). In doing so, Martha ties the volunteers to the geographical region of Global North, where she sees 'the language' originating from. At this point, project language has not been explicitly topicalized, although it would not be a stretch to see 'the language' as a shorthand for project language, given that it can indeed be seen as a product of Global North's text-mediated institutions, with development work being just one of these institutions (Rudrum, 2016). In this sense, with Martha potentially classifying project language as a product of the Global North, there is potential here to see the perceived institutional obligation to act as primary entextualizers being conditioned by broader historical processes.

Although ambiguously presented, Martha's reference to 'the language' seems meaningful to Liv as she adds "yeah and all these indicators" (16), which supports my interpretation that the language in question concerns the language used in producing reports and applications, i.e. project language (cf. De Sardan, 2005, p.

180). In this case, the idea of project language is further enregistered to entail writing indicators, and not just choosing fitting keywords, as discussed in Section 10.3.2 previously. Liv's agreement with Martha can be seen to add a further layer of meaning to what Liv may have meant in her post-interview (Extract 17 previously). In other words, when she stated that writing in project language should perhaps not be Swazi partners' responsibility, rather than it being a matter of capacity, the discussion above suggests that the volunteers may have an obligation to produce institutional texts because of the origins of project language in the Global North. As a result, presumably, this obligation does not extend to their local partners.

Moving on, Ditte claims to both agree and disagree with Liv and Martha (18). She stresses that Musa knows how to use project language, implying that because the volunteers are new, Musa should take on a more active role (18-19, 23). Ditte's position adds an interesting level of complexity to what may be at stake here in terms of how text production comes to be socially organized. In some sense, Ditte rejects the notion that being affiliated with an organization from the Global North comes with a normative expectation of writing applications, and specifically in project language. Instead, what matters more may be whether one has experience using project language, which would imply that Musa should take a more active role in entextualizing project applications. Although Musa can indeed be seen doing this in terms of suggesting candidate formulations, as the analyzed textual practices have consistently proven, in the feedback sessions the volunteers reveal that he is not seen as actively involved enough.

Seemingly taking Ditte's point into consideration, Liv reformulates the issue of local partners' perceived lack of active engagement as a matter of "habit" (26). Ditte agrees with Liv (27), but also adds that she views the Swazi partners as skilled in facilitating and thus actually well placed to take on a more active role (32, 34-35). In saying this, Ditte is once more reactivating the theme that what is at stake is not the (lack of) capacity of the Swazi partners to produce texts, but perhaps a more habitual choice of taking a more passive role in the text production process. Liv challenges Ditte's thinking by asking whether being good facilitators means the local partners are also good writers (37). This point lays bare the thus far fairly implicit debate around whether the Swazi partners are in fact *capable* of conducting project planning and writing on their own. Ditte agrees to the extent that she makes a distinction between facilitating a discussion around ideas, and being able to "structure objectives and stuff" (45). While I could have pursued this debate further, in the interest of time I cut the discussion short after Ditte's last point and introduced a new clip.

Throughout this extract from the feedback session, the volunteers can be seen debating whether their role as 'facilitators', which seems to encompass

entextualization tasks, is one that is imposed upon them out of habit that previous Nordic delegations may have introduced, or due to the origins of project language in the Global North, or, whether this role distribution is indeed a necessity as the local partners may not be capable in producing a project proposal. I do not intend to provide an answer to this discussion, as the ongoing discussion, from which I have only shared brief extracts, also proves that there is no consensus on this matter among the volunteers. What is however abundantly clear is that there is a divergence between what the volunteers can be seen doing in practice and how they would prefer to organize project planning and writing with the Swazi partners.

To summarize, my analyses of interview and feedback session data extend my exploration of the enregisterment process of project language. In this section I argued that project language comes to be tied to the Global North, which attaches an obligation to participants originating from the Global North to use the language in producing institutional texts. The volunteers seem to argue that this obligation does not necessarily extend to Swazi partners. However, what remains unresolved in this regard is whether the Swazi partners should not have this obligation imposed on them due to their (perceived) lack of existing capacity to produce project proposals and other institutional texts. In conjunction with this, the volunteers reactivate familiar questions related to whether they should have to act as primary entextualizers. Another explanation is therefore offered – that the Swazi partners may have a historically entrenched expectation of the Nordic volunteers to carry out text production for Swazi Democracy. While the volunteers do not reach a consensus, the ongoing debate raises an interesting discussion with respect to transient social configurations.

10.3.4. Summary

My analysis of the theme of project language has concerned the process of talking into being and enregistering a specific way of using language which is treated as appropriate for writing donor applications. More concretely, I have discussed how the register of project language manifests as the strategic choice of keywords in formulating applications, keywords which speak to the participants' ideas about donors' funding interests. Furthermore, in the interviews and the feedback session, project language comes to be tied to the geographical region referred to as Global North, whereby individuals originating from Global North are seen to have the obligation to write in project language within the context of international development. In short, the linguistic choices made by the participants in situated contexts come to be linked with a broader social framework, at least in the way that the latter is

understood by the participants, through a process of enregisterment. Finally, project language is also topicalized as part of the reason for why the Nordic volunteers come to function as primary entextualizers, suggesting that historical processes may also play a role in shaping transient social configurations.

10.4. Discussion of analytical observations

In this analytical chapter, I have sought to answer two research questions: how can the participants be seen to organize project writing as a reflexive manifestation of a broader institutional framework, and how do the participants make sense of their own role within it? To answer these questions, I employed multiple data types in order to explore how writing a development project can be seen to take place in a specific institutional and historical context that constrains and enables the participants in different ways. While I analyzed interactional data and interview data separately, as I also did in Part I, here I sought to explore the linkages between the two data types against the backdrop of a broader institutional framework. My main aim was to analyze how various social phenomena, such as the donor application templates and project language, emerge in a reflexive relationship with institutional logics that exist at scales beyond the immediate encounter.

First, I described the various discursive practices that can be seen to emerge as part of the process of writing a development project, and how the participants themselves understand their role within this process. In conjunction with this I showed that practices related to both gatekeeping and frontstaging of the entextualization process emerge. These practices can be seen to legitimize the managerialist and partnership ideologies, as much as these ideologies in turn shape the ways in which project planning and writing come to be socially organized. In other words, the project planning and writing is not entirely an *in situ* accomplishment. Nor do these participants spontaneously decide to come together out of nowhere and produce donor applications out of their own creative impetus. Rather, my analyses illuminate *how* the participants operationalize logics from different scales – institutional ideologies, procedures, mandates, and material objects – and thereby jointly establish what they can be seen doing together, who they are to one another, and how they make sense of it all as individuals.

More concretely, the social phenomena which I have analyzed do not constitute *in situ* accomplishments precisely because the broader institutional framework which the participants can be seen operationalizing pre-exists the situated encounter and operate on a different, slower timescale (Lemke, 2009, p. 274). The relevance of writing projects, or making projects at all, is part of a slower, historical process that has led to the prevalence of managerialist logic in development work, which the

participants can be seen realizing in their own way. The same point extends to ways of carrying out project planning and writing through the idea of 'listening'. These are ideas which have gained wider social currency over longer periods of time, and have become naturalized as institutional ideologies that can be operationalized in situated activities by social actors. In short, the emergent discursive practices in this transient social configuration can be seen as *in situ* accomplishments only to the extent that they are in a reflexive relationship with constraints and affordances of the broader institutional and historical framework.

However, as my analysis of the interview data suggests, further scales which potentially impinge on the shape of emergent discursive practices may not necessarily even emanate from institutional structures and ideologies, but the relational history between the two organizations. For the Swazi partners, this is one of many project visits, while for these three Nordic volunteers it is their first time. For the former, there may already be a historically-entrenched expectation of how project visits are carried out by ever-changing Nordic delegations, while for the latter it is a matter to be explored and figured out along the way. This discrepancy in the degree of experience can lead to (unspoken) expectations around how things should be done, what is relevant to dedicate time for, and who should be taking on what role.

What the above-described understanding of this transient social configuration overlooks is how the point of departure is not necessarily equal for the various participants within it. Various social and historical processes can also position participants asymmetrically through the workings of unequal access to resources which allows participants a greater or lesser capacity to influence their social surroundings (Levinson, 2005, p. 451; Sealey, 2007). In this case, the latter is perhaps evidenced most clearly in the donor-defined constraints on eligibility to funding opportunities which necessitates that Swazi Democracy partner up with Nordic Solidarity, and in the unequal distribution of knowledge and linguistic resources needed to produce donor applications. But also through something as mundane as owning a laptop, which allows some participants to control what is entextualized, or something as fundamental as the ability to walk away from the partnership without great personal, financial, and professional cost. These asymmetries are not *all* readily observable in the data, but they begin to demand attention when we start asking questions such as 'why this now?' or 'where does this come from?' (cf. Section 3.3.4 and 9.1 on my analytical process), and find that the answers lead us back to the broader social context which exists beyond situated moments in time.

In the second analytical section I explored how the participants talk into being the phenomenon of project language. To this end a longitudinal perspective on both interactional and interview data became necessary as I traced the enregisterment of a particular way of using language to produce donor applications, and the way in

which this connects something as “micro” as choosing suitable lexical items to a broader institutional framework. This framework entails donors with their funding application procedures and interests, and historical processes which have led to the positive valorization of certain keywords/ideas within development work. From this perspective, the projects which the participants formulate can also be seen to be constrained by logics in operation at various scales, and the key to uncovering these scales is the participants’ knowledge of donor funding interests, application procedures, and evaluation criteria, together with the participants’ articulation of this wider institutional framework which they seek to navigate for their own benefit.

The topicalization of project language by the volunteers also raised the relevance of not just institutional contexts, but once again, the potential relevance of historical processes in shaping what takes place in situated encounters. More specifically, I showed how the volunteers link the idea of project language with the geographical region referred to as Global North, a term which itself is a product of a historical social process, and derive from it an obligation to act as primary entextualizers. The historical process which comes to be associated with project language, and which is seen to impinge on the volunteers’ degree of agency, suggests once more that transient social configurations are indeed not void of pre-defined “grooves” (Urban, 2001, p. 28) that can provide the framework for social action. These ‘grooves’ can position participants in particular ways without their (immediate) conscious awareness and constrain their actions in specific ways. However, even though the volunteers attribute such power to the historical and geographical origins of project language in putting the Nordic volunteers in the position of primary entextualizers, the history of project language is unlikely in itself to *determine* social action quite as much as the volunteers seem to suggest. While the volunteers may have indeed found themselves following the ‘grooves’ by acting as entextualizers, it is debatable whether there would have been sanctions if they had chosen not to. In this sense, the volunteers’ ongoing debate raises interesting questions about the role of historical processes in constraining or enabling action in local contexts.

Pulling together the arguments that I have made thus far in this section, it is the actions and sense-making of social actors that I have put at the center stage of inquiry in understanding transient social configurations. I have looked at participants’ actions, metalinguistic commentary, and sense-making to uncover how the broader institutional context is operationalized in local, transient contexts and thereby comes to shape the situated social organization. By looking at what layers of social context participants themselves bring into a setting, make relevant, and operationalize in various ways, I do not propagate the view that participants are always necessarily conscious of all manner of constraints and affordances relevant to them, that they simply reproduce what can be seen as already pre-given, or that they construct the

very asymmetries which they then need to navigate. While I do see social actors playing a central role in maintaining, reproducing, but also creatively re-configuring, their social surroundings, with my analyses in this chapter I have aimed to show that it is an empirical question how persons, situated encounters, and a broader social context interplay with one another in complex ways. A way into uncovering these linkages and dynamics is by working with what is observable (Heller, 2001). Having said that, other aspects of the wider institutional context, ones which I have not analyzed here, may be equally as relevant in this transient social configuration but not necessarily quite as easily observable. This is a point that I have alluded to previously by highlighting how social actors may from the start be asymmetrically positioned relative to one another, and which may only reveal itself in concrete social situations; situations which some participants are able to navigate more easily than others.

I have intentionally saved a crucial point at the very end of this analytical chapter to further highlight the limitations of the arguments that I have been able to make on the basis of my analyses. More specifically, while Part II of this thesis focuses on the process of writing a development project that takes place *during* the project visit, the final versions of the two donor applications are in fact written and finalized by Nordic volunteers independently *after* the project visit and without the presence of any of the Swazi staff members. In fact, there are two new volunteers, who were never part of the project visit, that come to be involved in writing these applications. In this sense, the data that I have analyzed here only represents the *first* text production cycle, as further rounds take place in additional transient social configurations that could be studied in their own right (cf. 'textual travels' by Heffer, Rock, & Conley, 2013). The role that Swazi partners play in subsequent text production cycles is marginal, in that they are only involved to confirm final drafts or any changes in the application. In this light, members of Nordic Solidarity ultimately write the donor applications based on their understanding of what is relevant to include, in a language that they believe would appeal to the donors, and, contrary to what my analyses have shown, on behalf of their Swazi partners. In this sense, the volunteers do end up functioning as the sole authors of a project that is not theirs to bring to life or to account for its success or failure. This point somewhat contextualizes why the volunteers take issue with acting as primary entextualizers, as evidenced in the feedback session extracts. By the time of the feedback session, the volunteers would have already been working on the applications on their own for some time, and thus collectively started to question how things had come to be organized. Taking the above into consideration, having treated the partner visit as a bounded transient social configuration has revealed that social processes do not simply come to an end. Instead, they can both dissolve or take on new forms, which are equally as relevant to investigate.

11

11. Conclusions

In this chapter, I first provide concise answers to the research questions posed in Part I and Part II (see Section 11.1). I then move on to discuss the implications of these results, first addressing the literature on transient social configurations (Sections 11.2) and thereafter the literature on development encounters (Section 11.3).

11.1. Answering research questions

Part I of this thesis was based on the salient observation of the emic relevance of knowledge asymmetries in this transient social configuration. The two research questions which I posed in relation to this observation resulted in the following insight.

RQ1: How can the participants be seen to work towards a shared body of knowledge over time?

The analyses of interactional data showed how the participants can be seen to work towards a shared body of knowledge by establishing a participation framework with a distribution of institutional roles and role-specific practices that make possible ongoing knowledge exchange. More specifically, the Nordic volunteers come to elicit input through various elicitations, and the Swazi partners, or Musa particularly, provide input through conversational teaching.

RQ2: How does the perception of knowledge asymmetries influence participants' understanding of their role within the transient social configuration?

Participants topicalize knowledge asymmetries and take these to have implications for role distribution during the project visit meetings. The Nordic volunteers appeal to the idea of specialized knowledges which attributes the task of knowing where to take the new development project to the Swazi partners, but not to themselves. At the same time, since the volunteers view the Swazi partners as more knowledgeable, they express an expectation that the partners should take a more active role carrying out the project visit. Meanwhile, the Swazi partners, or Musa and Nelly in particular, agree that the Nordic volunteers are not knowledgeable in key respects, thereby revealing an expectation that volunteers ought to be more knowledgeable. To remedy the situation, Musa reveals to have taken on the task of attending to this issue.

Moving on, Part II of this thesis was guided by the observation and hypothesis that the discursive practices related to producing a development project do not emerge in complete isolation from broader institutional structures. The answers to the two research questions which address this topic are outlined below.

RQ3: How can the participants be seen to organize project writing as a reflexive manifestation of a broader institutional framework?

The analyses illuminated how the discursive practices related to producing a development project indeed do not emerge in complete isolation from broader institutional structures and historical processes. Participants observably operationalize institutional ideologies, application procedures, ideas about stakeholders, and various material objects. The participants can thereby be seen jointly establishing how they go about planning and writing a development project, who they are to one another in this process, and how they strategize to navigate the broader institutional framework. In this way, the wider context comes to shape the situated context as much as the latter comes to legitimize the pre-existing institutional framework.

RQ4: How do the participants make sense of their own role within the wider institutional framework?

The participant accounts revealed how the Nordic volunteers in particular perceive of their role as primary entextualizers to be somewhat pre-given. They discussed the potentially historically-entrenched expectations of the Swazi partners that the Nordic volunteers would act as primary entextualizers, while also speculating whether the geographical and historical origin of project language imposes this role onto them. The Swazi partners' account was meager in terms of the perception of their role in the project visit. This suggested that the project visit was carried out according to previous experiences and expectations. However, the lack of reflections can also be taken as an implicit critique of the relevance of producing projects as well as other paperwork.

In the following sections I discuss the implications of these conclusions to existing bodies of literature.

11.2. Transient social configurations

In this section, I first discuss the theoretical implications of the study results with respect to transient social configurations, followed by the practical implications.

First, however, some reflections on my overall approach in this study are in order. My take on transient social configuration as a concept is one that is underpinned by a view of social life as dynamic and ever-evolving, rather than static and fixed in time and space. The question that this study has implicitly been engaged with is how does this dynamicity manifest in a specific social setting from a longitudinal perspective, approached from various angles and at different scales. Nevertheless, any study is only able to illuminate one slice of social life, depending on research interests, questions, methods, theoretical concepts, epistemological, and ontological positions. The eclecticism characteristic to this thesis precisely works to demonstrate how much, and at times how little, different analytical concepts and methods applied on the very same transient social configuration can yield. In this sense, the dynamic nature of the analyzed social phenomena in this transient social configuration should not be taken as the full picture.

It was also not my intention to propagate one method or set of concepts over and above others when studying transient social configurations. Rather, my choices have been driven by what kinds of concepts and methods help realize my research interests with respect to analyzing a salient social phenomenon. As discussed in Chapter 3, linguistic ethnography with its openness, and sociological realism with its view of social world as analytically stratifiable, have allowed me to *dissect* this transient social configuration from various angles. In other words, other analytical approaches would be equally as valid to study transient social configurations, but these would necessarily come with their own affordances and limitations about what they can help uncover. Having now briefly discussed my overall approach to this study, I move on to discussing the theoretical implications of the study results.

Most prominently, the study conclusions have implications for our understanding of social processes in the context of transient social configurations. I argued that what emerges in transient social configurations, or social life more broadly, can be seen as only partially an *in situ* accomplishment, as the participants also take their cue from the "grooves" (Urban, 2001, p. 28) of pre-existing social, historical, political, and institutional frameworks. In other words, while social life can be realized in the here and now of specific communicative situations by situated participants, what is observable necessarily intersects with scales that transcend the local context and operate on different timescales. While this point may not be particularly new for some scholars, this study provides *empirical* support for the claim that we need to dismantle the belief in the stability of social phenomena and replace it with a focus on their

dynamic nature, best explored from a longitudinal and multi-scalar perspective. The analyses in the whole of this thesis have illuminated the organization of social life over a period of time through simultaneous processes of emergence of various social phenomena, their stabilization (and dissolution), as well as how these same social phenomena bear traces of other scales of context[54]. In contrast, such a perspective on social life has mostly been discussed in relatively theoretical terms (Urban, 2001; Lemke, 2000; Blommaert, 2018, Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; although Blommaert's (2013) decade-long linguistic landscaping study of a neighborhood in Antwerp is a noteworthy exception in this regard).

Crucially, at the center of these social processes are social actors. This study showed the central role played by various resources which participants can bring into a social setting and operationalize. Here I understand resources to entail self-reported and/or embodied knowledge (Chapters 6 and 7), expectations and historical experiences (Chapter 7, Sections 10.2.3, and 10.3.3), and exposure to as well as experience with certain institutional practices and ideologies (Chapter 10) as some of the most salient examples specific to this project visit. These study results evoke Mortensen's idea of heterogeneity of resources (2017, p. 273) which participants can bring into a transient social configuration and which can play a role in shaping the social setting. Indeed, Mortensen (2017), Mortensen and Fabricius (2014), Lønsmann (2017), Hazel (2017), and Pitzl (2018) all address how participants' diversity of resources results in locally established social phenomena. However, these studies are exclusively focused on multilingual resources, whereas the analyses in this study brought to light a variety of other resources that can become consequential in shaping a social setting. However, it is one thing to identify the relevance of various resources, it is quite another to lump them together as having the same interactional weight and effect - a point which needs further unpacking.

First, the observations in Chapter 6 (and supported by Chapter 7) showed that the participants go through a process of establishing a shared body of knowledge over the course of the project visit. Similar processes have been described by Hazel (2017) and Pitzl (2018), who describe the participants' exploration of linguistic resources, on the basis of which multilingual practices or a shared vocabulary emerge. The present study converges with Hazel and Pitzl's findings in the way that a diversity of resources is shown to form the basis for *shared* resources in the given social configuration over time. But a diversity of resources can also be experienced and oriented to as an asymmetry which needs to be compensated for interactionally.

[54] However, it should be noted that even as I aimed to dissect the dynamic social processes in this transient social configuration, by attempting to capture and describe them, I inevitable fix these processes in time and space (Blommaert, 2013, p. 14).

This can equally influence the dynamics in a social setting, as shown in this study in the case of Musa's conversational teaching.

Building on the above, in some cases, establishing shared resources of whichever kind may in fact be vital to be able to work together, thus requiring awareness and dedicated attention from the participants. This point is raised by three studies of operation theatres (Bezemer et al., 2017; Gillespie et al., 2010; Finn & Waring, 2006) which highlight how a lack of shared knowledge resources becomes an obstacle for carrying out medical procedures in transient surgical teams. These studies emphasize the relevance of explicit interactional effort in counterbalancing the asymmetry that may be perceived to exist as a result of participants' heterogeneous resources. A similar issue can be seen to be at play in the present transient social configuration. Without working towards establishing a shared body of knowledge, the volunteers would have continued to be positioned at a disadvantage when it came to carrying out the pre-assigned institutional tasks together with the Swazi partners. But as the emergent practices described in Part II illuminate, not all heterogeneous resources come to be shared over the course of the project visit.

This constitutes my second point with respect to the role of heterogeneous resources in shaping social settings. More specifically, my analyses in Part II indicated that there are also resources which are conditioned by participants' 'historical body' (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) and which may be rooted in structural asymmetries. For instance, not all participants displayed an access to relevant resources for producing donor applications - project language, as expressed in English, knowledge of application procedures and requirements, as well as donor interests. These can be taken as far more important resources in this case (compared to knowledge of Swaziland), as they can condition whether participants are able to participate in producing a winning discourse and thereby potentially secure funding for a new development project. But acquiring these resources would require access to relevant training, education, professional experience etc. This point suggests that in the context of transient social configurations, not all resources may prove equally valuable, taking its cue from a broader social framework. The differential valorization of resources, whether in an emergent sense or as conditioned by longer-term social processes, can then in turn have implications for participants' ability to shape their social surroundings and access to future opportunities.

The point that differential valorization of resources can have implications for individuals' ability to navigate institutions is not a new one. Blommaert (2001), Blommaert & Dong (2010), Maryns (2006), Briggs (1997), Heller (2007), Roberts and Campbell (2005), and Jacquemet (2005) have all shined a light on how various resources (linguistic, institutional knowledge etc.) are needed in order to adhere to institutional standards of what constitutes a successful job interview, application,

narrative etc. These studies also illuminate how certain resources do not 'travel' well across social settings and may lose social value in a 'new' setting (but also vice versa, cf. Heller, 2003). In this way, heterogeneous resources can *morph* into as well as *reflect* (structural) social inequalities, where some participants become constrained and hindered to influence and shape their immediate social surroundings as well as future opportunities, while others are enabled to take control (Blommaert, 2018, pp. 32-36). We saw traces of this in the way that Musa's knowledge of Swaziland enables him to act as a situationally-chosen teacher towards the Nordic volunteers (Chapter 6), and in the way that the Nordic volunteers and Musa are able to formulate input for donor applications in strategic ways (Chapter 11). Meanwhile Lucky and Nelly are noticeably absent in this process. At least until the budget planning meeting which does not require linguistic resources or institutional knowledge to the same degree (see Example 2 in Appendix M).

These salient instances underscore the point that while these participants may form this transient social configuration with heterogeneous resources, some of these resources may prove to be more valuable ('capital' in Bourdieau's (1991) sense) and position some participants at a greater advantage to resist, shape, or control the project planning and writing process, and perhaps even the project visit as a whole. Zooming out from the situated activities, the participants may nevertheless be equally powerless against transforming donor logics which they can be seen orienting to. In this sense, a study of transient social configurations is also useful for understanding the social processes that can lead to various asymmetries or inequalities which become consequential to a setting, and potentially manifest in (familiar) power dynamics. However, how power relations can be (re)produced in the context of transience is an area yet to be systematically explored and may be suggested for further research.

This second point with respect to heterogeneous resources also raises the question whether some resources can ever become a shared resource throughout the life span of a transient social configuration? It is one thing to adopt a few new words in another language during a meeting (cf. Pitzl, 2018; Hazel, 2017) or pass a surgical instrument in an agreed upon way (Bezemer et al., 2016), but it is quite another to acquire the institutional know-how to strategically navigate a donor application process or a comprehensive understanding of local conditions in Swaziland over the course of an 8-day project visit. In other words, some inequalities may be more sedimented and less open to negotiation or 'conversational teaching' than others. In this way, pre-existing social inequalities can then be seen to be reproduced also in the context of transience.

Having now covered the theoretical implications of the study results, I now turn to reflecting on the applied implications of these results. The results of this study are

applicable to 'transient collaborations' or 'transient teams' where participants with specialized or unequally distributed resources who are unfamiliar with each other are required to work together within a limited timeframe. This study documents interactional efforts which can be made to overcome (some) asymmetries as well as highlights the relevance of establishing shared resources, whichever kind may be relevant or possible, to better cope with the lived experience of transience. This ties in with the point that 'sharedness' should also encompass being explicit about and aligning expectations around roles from the outset of a time-limited collaboration, with the agreement that these can be readjusted or re-established along the way, if needed. Further studies of transient collaborations or teams may very well investigate the consequences of other factors which may cause issues with quickly establishing working practices and relations with new colleagues. More broadly, the flexibility demanded of employees to manage the impact of transience in a growing number of organizations could be brought under greater scrutiny in future research.

The results of this study also contribute empirical insight to development studies, as I discuss in the next section.

11.3. Development encounters

At the very start of this thesis I made an important disclaimer which needs to be revisited at this point so as to frame the following discussion. It was never my intention to engage with development literature and the multitude of issues scholars and practitioners have raised with respect to how international development is realized. However, as my understanding of the data and the development field grew, I also saw a responsibility to contribute to development studies employing methodologies and analytical angles that are new to the field and which may encourage future studies to push for a linguistically grounded understanding of development. In other words, I refrain from evaluating this project visit in terms of its success or failure. Partly because I do not consider myself well placed to make such evaluations, but partly also because of the sheer diversity of types of NGOs, other stakeholders, and the various relationships which they can form, all of which fall under the broad heading of 'international development' (Wallace et al., 2006; Gardner & Lewis, 2015). In short, it would be a gross generalization to consider this project visit representative of such a diverse industry. Rather, in my analyses I have sought to illuminate the interactional bedrock of one kind of development encounter while embedding the observations in ongoing debates around partnership (Section 2.3) and managerialism (Section 10.3). What the analyses reveal about these debates I leave for the judgment of practitioners and scholars involved in the debates. The area where I *am* able to contribute relates to the small but growing body of literature that focuses on the role of language and

language use in carrying out international development.

In this study, I identified and described some of the central communicative practices and problems that can be involved in project planning and writing. Development projects are considered pervasive within development work, and yet, discussions of project planning and writing processes are not grounded in linguistic analyses of communicative practices, text production cycles, textual travels, or even analyses of produced institutional texts. At present, only Mosse (2004) has described the process of designing and writing a development project as a kind of autoethnography of a development consultant. Mosse argues that defining a project entails various stakeholders and taking into consideration their interests and their logics, contrary to the argument that development projects are dominated by donor interests and logics alone. In fact, studies which stress the omnipresence of the donor have primarily been interview and policy-analysis based studies (Wallace et al., 1997, 2006; Mawdsley et al., 2002; Krause, 2014). In short, from none of the above-mentioned studies do we actually learn much about the interactional nature of how different stakeholders are taken into consideration (or not) in project planning and writing, as observed in practice and explained by the participants in involved. The present study therefore provides and advocates for both a linguistic and ethnographic grounding to the understanding of this process to counterbalance the largely interview-based studies of development encounters.

More specifically, the analyses in Section 10.2.1. showed evidence of gatekeeping taking place in project planning and writing on the part of the Nordic volunteers, as well as a certain bias towards donors' funding interests, concepts, and textual criteria. Furthermore, this entire process is facilitated by relatively new volunteers who over time start to question their role as primary entextualizers (Chapter 10) and claim limited local knowledge of what might be relevant for Swazi Democracy (Chapter 7). These observations reinforce some of the persistent criticism about the perceived control and power of donors and Northern NGOs, despite their inadequate knowledge of local conditions (Powell, 2006; Mawdsley et al., 2002, 2005; Long & Long, 1992; Escobar, 1995; Chambers, 1987, 1997). My intention here is not to provide a simplistic image of dominance, because lurking under the surface of these observations are factors less easily observable in practice. For one, Swazi Democracy, as an unregistered civil society organization, is not eligible to apply for funding on its own and is therefore dependent on Nordic Solidarity to acquire access for funding. Being subversive in Swazi Democracy's position can therefore potentially be rather challenging, if not self-defeating. Nordic Solidarity, meanwhile, does not have funding of its own and thus relies on volunteers, whose high turnover leads to a lack of institutional memory. Moreover, Nordic Solidarity is equally dependent on acquiring funding from donors, but with the caveat that they are accountable to

donors as a middle man ('upward accountability' (Banks et al., 2015)) that carries out bureaucratic tasks on the donors' behalf. In the above-described way, institutional structures which favor donors can indeed be seen to be (re)produced in this project visit. However, presuming upon the imposition of institutional structures rather than investigating these linguistic-ethnographically underplays the complexity of what can take place in situated encounters.

For instance, the analyses in Section 10.2.2. revealed collaborative efforts being made by the Nordic volunteers, which can be seen to mitigate the gatekeeping quality of the text production activities. Collaboration between development workers and local partners or stakeholders has thus far only been suggested to be the case in Mosse's autoethnography (2004), as previously discussed. Although, interview-based studies which discuss the notion of 'listening' also point to the possibility that some measure of collaboration may take place in development encounters (Tesseur, 2019; Crack, 2019). What has thus far been unknown is how collaboration can manifest interactionally within development work and how it may be ideologically informed, all of which the present study has shed some light on. However, it is equally important not to overstate the significance of the observed collaborative sequences. Even as the Swazi partners, or Musa in particular, are involved in writing the applications, the donors' logic and textual demands are nevertheless maintained and adhered to, invisibilizing other ideas and other ways of conceptualizing and formulating development projects, as well as other ways of carrying out development altogether. In short, the interactional bedrock of the project planning and writing process can be taken as a complex communicative process where multiple goals, stakeholders, and ideologies intersect, realized by participants with their own interpretations of how best to proceed and their heterogeneous resources.

However, as I revealed towards the end of Chapter 10, when we move past the project visit, it is in fact these three Nordic volunteers and two new ones who assume the role of executive editors of the donor applications. This raises questions about the value and legitimacy of 'listening' and of the relatively collaborative text production meetings when the final product is "finalized by a few individuals […] sitting in an office, working with a vague mandate from local people and a clear set of strategic objectives from potential donors" (Wallace et al., 2006, p. 36). It becomes a question of power when some participants can choose what to entextualize on behalf of another, even though it is the latter who has to implement and ultimately account for the project's progress (cf. Maryns, 2006, 2013). But a less sinister interpretation is equally plausible – that of equality being sacrificed for the purpose of acquiring funding. If it is the case that the Nordic volunteers are in fact seen by the Swazi partners as better placed to produce a winning discourse, the ends can be seen to justify the means by which the donor applications are produced.

Before I move on to the next empirical contribution of the study results, an important point needs to be made. The idea of looking beyond the confines of the project visit reveals perhaps the greatest limitation of this study. By initially treating this project visit, or transient social configuration, as a bounded entity where the main action takes place, so to speak, I ultimately excluded an in-depth investigation of the various equally transient text production cycles ('textual travels' (Heffer, et al., 2013) that succeeded the project visit. Taking a more expansive view, of transient social configurations more broadly and of such project visits specifically, is therefore recommended for further research. In the case of development work, it can yield rich insight into understanding whose voices are ultimately entextualized in development projects, and whose interests do these projects ultimately serve. And in the case of transient social configurations, as a brief side-note, it can provide a more thorough understanding of how various transient social configurations interlink with one another as part of ongoing social processes and transformations.

Moving on, a question which I have thus far not addressed is - why is it that the Swazi partners do not write the applications themselves – although speculated about at length by the Nordic volunteers (Section 10). Only Musa's diplomatic answer provides some clues - he expresses an appreciation of the purpose of documentation, but stresses the greater relevance of strategic thinking so as to create more impactful projects (Interview Extract 16, Section 10.2.4). Regardless, Musa is deeply involved in the text production process which grants him significant control over conceptualizing and formulating the donor applications. But this should not overshadow the two other Swazi staff members who are, while physically present, largely absent from the project planning and writing process.

This salient observation can be understood against the backdrop of existing development literature. Interview-based studies by Elbers and Arts (2011), Elbers et al. (2014), Wallace et al. (1997, 2006), and Mawdsley et al. (2002) all report that writing projects, but also producing reports, requires working with untranslatable development 'buzzwords' (Cornwall & Eade, 2010; De Sardan, 2005; Maclean, 2007; Chibamba, 2018) and the ability to fill in highly technical donor templates (such as the LFA matrix, Figure 10) according to its textual criteria. Furthermore, these texts need to be produced in English, or some other major language, which may be particularly exclusionary towards local community members who primarily speak regional languages. In short, and touching upon an earlier discussion, valorization of linguistic resources can be seen to take place on donors' terms and lead to some resources becoming a sort of linguistic capital (Roth, 2019; Bourdieu, 1991) without which members of Southern NGOs can neither learn to navigate institutional logics nor to be heard in key discussions (Mawdsley et al., 2002; Footitt, 2017; Tesseur, 2019; Bornstein, 2006). Linguistic resources therefore become closely related to

power and control of the project planning and writing process (Roth, 2019; Footitt, 2017). Without Musa's capacity in and knowledge of project language and donor logics, the observed text production activities would have probably played out very differently.

This point also contributes to criticism of the hegemony of English, and other major languages, as the lingua franca in international development. It is only in the last decade that development has begun to be criticized for overlooking the multilingual nature of development encounters (e.g. Gal et al., 2015; Tesseur, 2019; Footitt, 2017; Tesseur & Footitt, 2019; Chibamba, 2018; Robinson, 1996). The present study takes these studies further by providing empirical evidence of how asymmetrically distributed linguistic resources, whether in terms of English or even project language, can hinder some participants from being equally involved in project planning and writing. More broadly, the study works to call into question the limits of participatory approaches if the work takes place in a language and according to concepts that may be foreign to the people that the projects are meant to serve, echoing existing criticism by De Sardan (2005), Maclean (2007), Footitt et al. (2018), and Robinson (1996).

Finally, this study can be considered one of the first to take seriously the impact of transience on development projects, which in themselves can last several months or years. In the context of development, transience manifests as a high turnover of staff, which at present is only acknowledged on a superficial level (Mawdsley et al., 2002; Wallace et al., 2006; Tesseur, 2019). The present study highlighted that the transience of volunteers can be seen to exacerbate some of the issues that have been identified as consequential to carrying out development work. Most notably, the issue of Northern NGO staff's limited knowledge of local conditions, which has a long history in existing development literature. The analyses in Part I revealed that the transience of volunteers results in a lack of institutional memory in Nordic Solidarity which further aggravates the criticism from Swazi Democracy, but also from Southern NGOs more broadly, that staff from Norther NGOs are uninformed and thus inadequately placed to consult, support, or create development projects which actually improve and work for local conditions. Against this backdrop, some scholars (Mawdsley et al., 2002, 2005; Hailey, 2001) have called for extending visits to make space for richer, non-formulaic relationships and thereby minimizing the overreliance on paperwork, but also to foster a deep(er) understanding of local conditions, as well as build social relations and trust. Paradoxically then, maintaining staff over the full course of a development project, at the very least, has been identified as a solution to many issues, but little is actually known about the impact of frequently changing staff on an everyday level of carrying out development work. This study, and the observations discussed in this section, can be taken as a small step towards filling

this gap in literature. Although working in conditions of transience is not unique to international development, awareness of its impact on raising issues old and new within development is nevertheless crucial.

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13. Appendix A: Donor Green call

Donor Green call

Donor Green has regular calls with the same pools of money available for applications. The below is a partly anonymized version (donor country references have been taken out and replaced with text in brackets) of the call that the participants can be writing an application for.

"Development Interventions [grant amount] promote a vigorous civil society with popular foundations, and create lasting improvements in the living conditions of vulnerable population groups. They are implemented in partnerships involving relations with other actors. They contain both elements of capacity building and (potential for) advocacy. The assessment of proposed Development Interventions is adapted to the context, thus taking into account whether the work is to take place in a stable or in a fragile scenario."

Donor Green application template instructions

"The particular objective of a development intervention is to strengthen civil society organising to promote the fulfilment of rights and equal access to resources and participation and to bring about lasting improvements for poor, marginalised and vulnerable target groups.

It is also a particular objective to develop the partners' role as a catalyst, i.e. as someone reaching out to, mobilising and cooperating with the wider society and other actors. This serves to expand partners' access to resources and financing, while boosting the effect and sustainability of all their actions.

Please note before writing the application:
NUMBER OF PAGES: The application text must not take up more than 25 pages (Arial, font size 11, line spacing 1.0, margins: top 3 cm, bottom 3 cm, right 2 cm and left 2 cm). Applications exceeding this length will be rejected.

LANGUAGE: The application text must have been drawn up in cooperation between the local partner(s) and the applicant Northern NGO organisation. Accordingly, there must be a document available in a language of relevance to the local partner. The actual application, however, can only be submitted to [Donor Green] in [Northern NGO language] or English.

CONTEXT: Remember that the application will be assessed depending on whether the intervention is to take place in a stable or fragile context. Section 2.4 in the Guidelines sets out what you must remember to explain in your application regarding objective and relevance, partnership, target groups, strategy and cost level."

1. **Objective and relevance**

- What is the objective of the intervention?
- How does the intervention contribute towards strengthening civil society organising that promotes compliance with rights and equal access to resources and participation?
- How does the intervention contribute towards bringing about lasting improvements for poor, marginalised and vulnerable target groups?
- Describe the context of the intervention, i.e. the conditions prevailing in the intervention area which are expected to shape the intervention (e.g. social, economic, political, climate and environmental conditions, and whether it will take place in a stable or fragile context).

2. Partnership/partners

- Describe the experiences, capacities and resources of participant partners (including the [Northern NGO]) and of other actors, if any. If there has been previous cooperation, also describe how these experiences have fed constructively into the design of the proposed intervention.
- Describe the roles and areas of responsibility of the partners and of any other actors.
- How will the intervention develop the relationship between the partners?
- How will the intervention contribute to the partners acting as a catalyst? I.e. to the partners building relations to, mobilising and cooperating with other actors (such as authorities, other local, national and international organisations, networks, businesses and other donors) both in the developing country and in [Nordic region].

3. The target groups

- Describe the target groups' relevance in view of the objective pursued and set out their role/participation in the intervention.
- Describe the composition of the target groups, specifying the number of persons in the primary and secondary target group disaggregated by gender, social group and, if relevant, ethnic or other affiliation.
- Describe the partners' legitimacy vis-à-vis the target groups and as champions of the target groups' cause.

4. Strategy and expected results

- Describe the intervention's objectives, activities, expected outputs and indicators to be applied.
  Seek inspiration in 'Guide for the formulation of NGO projects' (Chapter 6).
    - If the intervention is an extension of a previous intervention, the following should be explained:
        - To what extent has the previous intervention achieved satisfactory results in view of the given circumstances?
        - How have experiences from the work thus far been fed into the design of the new intervention?
        - To what extent does the proposed intervention pursue new objectives, take a new strategic approach or involve a new target group?
- Describe the interlinkage and balance between capacity development, advocacy and possible strategic deliveries (the Development Triangle).
- How are priorities, plans and resources existing within the context taken into account?
- What possible factors (risks) may hinder or delay fulfilment of the intervention's objective? And what are the conceivable solutions aimed at mitigating the risks concerned?
- Describe how and with which methods the intervention is to be carried out so as to make it likely to lead to the objectives defined, including how the role as a catalyst has been considered.
    - If the proposed intervention is an extension of a previous intervention, it must be described to what extent the strategy is being refined, including strengthening of the role as a catalyst, potential for advocacy and long-term sustainability.
- Describe the plans with regard to monitoring as well as systematisation and use of experiences both along the way and at the end of the intervention. If an external evaluation has been planned […], this should be described. experiences both along the way and at the end of the intervention. If an external evaluation has been planned […], this should be described.

5. Phase-out and sustainability

- How will it be ensured that neither local partners nor target groups are left in an inappropriate relationship of dependency when the intervention period expires?
- How is the intervention envisaged to lead to lasting improvements for the target groups?
- How can the strengthening of partners' and other actors' capacity be continued when the implementation period expires?

14. Appendix B: Overview of collected data

Interview data					
No.	Interviewee	Date	Type	Length	Comments
1	Ditte	01.02.2017	Skype call	Approx. 90 min	Unrecorded, notes taken during the conversation
2	Ditte & Martha	08.02.2017	Face-to-face	51 min	Meeting about practicalities
3	Ditte	09.02.2017	Face-to-face	1hr 9 min	Pre-interview
4	Martha	13.02.2017	Face-to-face	51 min	Pre-interview
5	Liv	14.02.2017	Face-to-face	39 min	Pre-interview
6	Musa	21.02.2017	Face-to-face	1hr 28 min	Interview on Day 3 of project visit
7	Lucky	23.02.2017	Face-to-face	53 min	Interview on Day 5 of project visit
8	Nelly	24.02.2017	Face-to-face	43 min	Interview of Day 6 of project visit
9	Ditte	07.03.2017	Face-to-face	1hr 35 min	Post-interview
10	Martha	08.03.2017	Face-to-face	1hr 10 min	Post-interview
11	Liv	29.03.2017	Face-to-face	34 min	Post-interview
12	All three Nordic volunteers	13.06.2017	Face-to-face	2hrs	Feedback session
13	Musa & Nelly	13.11.2017	Skype call	1hr 11 min	Post-interview

All interviews were carried out in English.

Field notes			
No.	Content	Date	Pages
1	Reflections and field notes on acquiring access to Nordic Solidarity	October 2016-January 2017	2
2	Reflections and field notes on meeting with the Swaziland Group	11.01.2017	2
3	Notes on Skype call with Ditte	01.02.2017	2
4	Meeting on practicalities with Martha and Ditte	08.02.2017	2
5	Reflections on communication with Swazi partners	01-14.02.2017	2
6	Reflections on pre-interviews	09-14.02.2017	4
7	Field notes and reflections on Day 1	17.02.2017	9
8	Field notes and reflections on field trip with NS to sugar cane farm	18.02.2017	4
9	Field notes on conversations with NS volunteers on the day	19.02.2017	1
10	Field notes and reflections on Day 2	20.02.2017	5
11	Field notes and reflections on Day 3	21.02.2017	8
12	Field notes and reflections on Day 4	22.02.2017	4
13	Field notes and reflections on Day 5	23.02.2017	4
14	Field notes and reflections on Day 6	24.02.2017	4
15	Reflections on post-interviews	07-29.03.2017	3
16	Reflections on feedback session	13.06.2019	2
17	Reflections on Skype call interview with Musa and Nelly	13.11.2017	2

Texts and Documents		
No.	Title	Content
1	Nordic Solidarity website	Screenshots of website content taken in February 2017
2	Organizational Guidelines	Guidelines for establishing and conducting partnership, accessed February 2017
3	Strategic Guidelines	Strategic vision and mission of Nordic Solidarity, accessed February 2017
4	Donor Green call (Appendix A)	Instructions and guidelines for donor funding applications, acquired in January 2019
5	History of Swazi Democracy	Journalist report, accessed June 2017
6	Political history of Swaziland	Journalist report, accessed June 2017
7	Project visit Plan (Appendix N)	Content and plan for the project visit, acquired in February 2017
8	Description of Project visit in 2010	Participant report, accessed February 2017
9	Evaluation report	Report produced during the project visit for Donor Green, acquired in March 2017

15. Appendix C: Thematic interview guidelines

Pre-project visit interviews with Nordic Solidarity volunteers

Theme 1 – background
How did you come to join Nordic Solidarity?
What have you studied/worked with before?
Experiences working in international groups?

Theme 2 - preparation
How have you prepared?
What is the goal of this project visit?
What are your hopes and fears related to the project visit?

During project visit interviews with Swazi partners

Theme 1 – background
How did you come to join Swazi Democracy?
What have you studied/worked with before?
Experiences working in international groups?

Theme 2 – experiences with Nordic Solidarity
Describe a typical project visit
How do you deal with having new people come from the Danish organization to work with you?
Experiences with previous Nordic Solidarity delegations?

Theme 3 – ongoing, miscellaneous
Are you on the same page regarding the new project?

Post-project visit interviews with Nordic Solidarity volunteers

Theme 1 – before going
Thoughts on your preparation before the project visit
First impressions

Theme 2 – overall collaboration
Format – did it work
Working with Nordic Solidarity – surprises, expectations or positives/challenges
Working with other volunteers during the project visit – surprises, expectations or positives/challenges
Were you on the same page?

Theme 3 – salient events during project visit
Were there times when you wanted to discuss something but felt like you couldn't/shouldn't?
Car + t-shirt discussion
Should there be projects?

Theme 4 – future project visits
What advice would you give to a newbie going to Swaziland?

16. Appendix D: Transcription conventions

Adapted from ten Have (2007).

[ ] square brackets around utterances signal overlapping talk between two or more speakers

= no detectable pause between utterances, marked at the end of the first speaker's utterance and at the beginning of the next speaker's utterance

(word) utterances surrounded by parentheses indicate transcriber uncertainty about the utterance

( ) empty parentheses indicate unintelligible talk

(0.6) pauses are marked by indicating the length of the pause in seconds

(.) pauses shorter than 2 seconds

((text)) text surrounded by double parentheses are comments made by the researcher

text text in blue indicates a speaker reading out loud from a written text, evidenced by an audibly different vocal quality and embodiment of reading from a text/laptop screen

text text in green indicates a hypothetical suggestion produced by a speaker, evidenced by an audibly different vocal quality

text text in italics indicates talk that co-occurs simultaneously with typing

word underscored text indicates speaker's emphasis

WORD text in capital letters indicates an audibly louder voice quality compared to surrounding talk

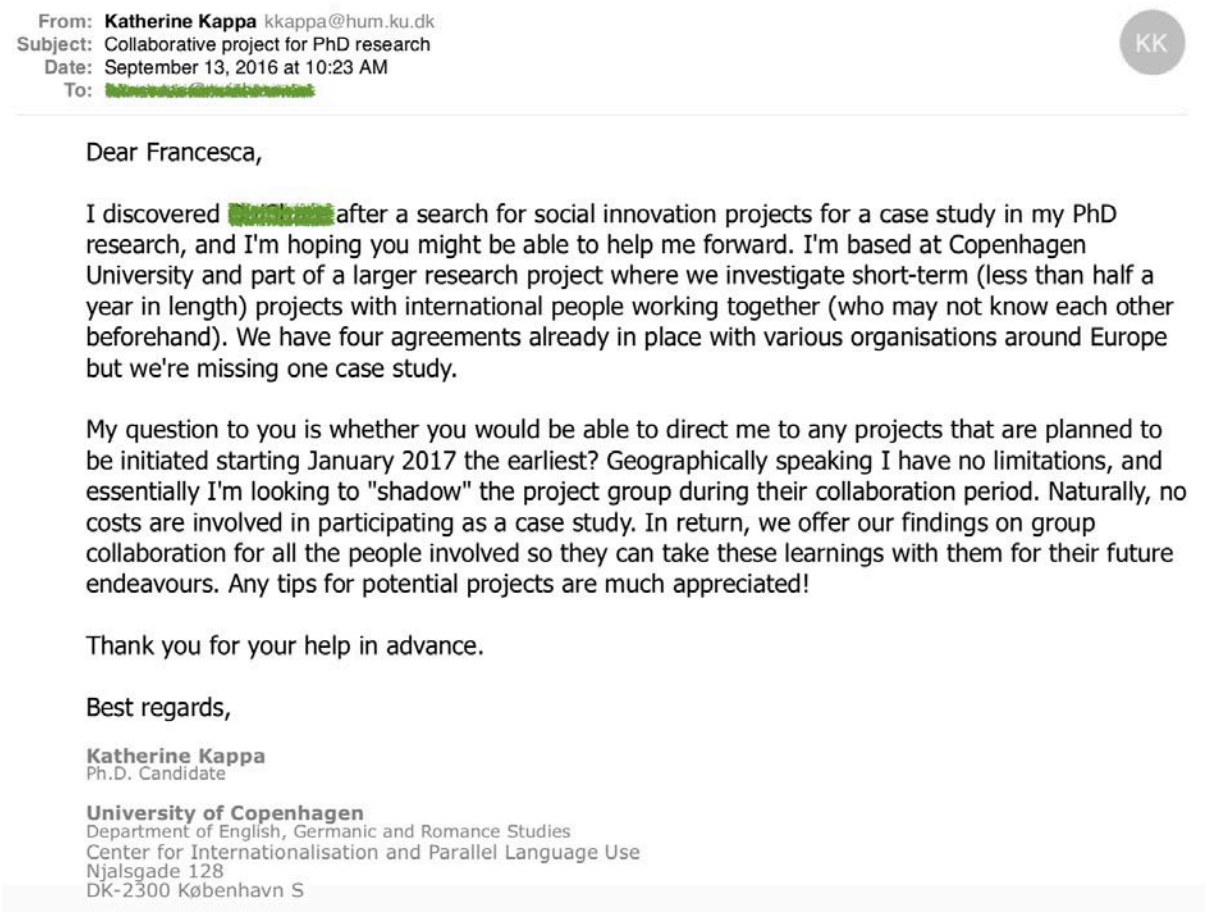
- a dash indicates a cut-off

↑↓	arrows indicate marked shifts into higher (arrow up) or lower (arrow down) pitch in the utterance immediately before the arrows
º º	utterances bracketed by degree signs are audibly quieter than surrounding talk
.hh	a dot prefixed row of h-s indicates inbreath
::	elongated vowel
whordh	words with grammatically incorrect h-s added indicate breathiness
£word£	utterances surrounded by pound signs indicate smile voice
%com	utterances in light grey starting with %com describe non-verbal conduct that occurs simultaneously to the transcribed talk in the previous line, unless indicated otherwise

Participants:

DIT	Ditte
MAR	Martha
LIV	Liv
LUC	Lucky
NEL	Nelly
MUS	Musa
KAT	Katherine, researcher

17. Appendix E: Email example of searching for a case study



From: **Katherine Kappa** kkappa@hum.ku.dk
Subject: Collaborative project for PhD research
Date: September 13, 2016 at 10:23 AM
To: [redacted]

KK

Dear Francesca,

I discovered [redacted] after a search for social innovation projects for a case study in my PhD research, and I'm hoping you might be able to help me forward. I'm based at Copenhagen University and part of a larger research project where we investigate short-term (less than half a year in length) projects with international people working together (who may not know each other beforehand). We have four agreements already in place with various organisations around Europe but we're missing one case study.

My question to you is whether you would be able to direct me to any projects that are planned to be initiated starting January 2017 the earliest? Geographically speaking I have no limitations, and essentially I'm looking to "shadow" the project group during their collaboration period. Naturally, no costs are involved in participating as a case study. In return, we offer our findings on group collaboration for all the people involved so they can take these learnings with them for their future endeavours. Any tips for potential projects are much appreciated!

Thank you for your help in advance.

Best regards,

Katherine Kappa
Ph.D. Candidate

University of Copenhagen
Department of English, Germanic and Romance Studies
Center for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use
Njalsgade 128
DK-2300 København S

18. Appendix F: TMC research guidelines

This research project consists of five independent ethnographic case studies of transient multilingual communities. The project is designed in a way that allows for comparison across and within the case studies for the purpose of building new theory on the formation of social and linguistic norms (theoretical aspect) and solve a real-world "problem" (applied aspect), that is, investigating the challenges and particularities of working together in a transnational team.

The potential case studies:
Case #1 - construction site in Norway
Case #2 - theatre group
Case #3 - university project group?
Case #4 - refugee internships?
Case #5 - NGO project?

When negotiating access, we need to assure anonymity to the extent that is needed by each case study. At the same time we also need to acquire permission to, at the very least, be allowed to share the data among ourselves and the wider community of researchers.

TIMELINE

Sep-Jan 2017:	negotiate access, sign confidentiality agreements, find translators (when it becomes necessary)
Feb-Jun 2017:	find and train student transcribers (JM and KKA), primary field work in all sites, build data bank
Aug-Dec 2017:	follow up field work (if necessary), begin individual analysis, students transcribe selected parts, develop a shared coding scheme after we have acquainted ourselves with our data individually, hold regular data sessions.

DATA COLLECTION GOALS

To ensure comparability across the five case studies, common types of data and principles for data collection will be agreed on. The below is a description of an ideal case scenario, while highlighting areas for wiggle room with respect to the particular nature of each case study and the kinds of data that prove possible to collect.

DATA TYPE	PRIMARY	OPTIONAL
Video recordings	Yes	Only in case access is granted on the condition that no recordings are done
Self-recordings		Only in case this is a less intrusive way of obtaining interactional data
Interviews	Yes	
Field notes	Yes	
Documents etc.		Yes, depending on what is possible or relevant to collect

Regarding field work, we aim to:
1 Get in at an early stage

2 Follow a number of primary participants from before the project, into the project, through the project (and until the end to the extent that is possible). Primary participants are people we choose to follow throughout the whole project; they do not have to be central to the social configuration and no a priori defined criteria for selecting them will be defined. Secondary participants are e.g. managers. The primary participant(s) give(s) us access to the group from a practical point of view, but also supplement the perspective we get from the rest of the data collection. Primary participants do not necessarily need to be present in the video recordings.

3 Engage in an ongoing dialogue with primary participants ('following' explained), i.e. interviewing these people at least three times: at the beginning of the project, in the middle, and at the end (Optional: but we can also ask them to do self-recordings (where appropriate), or shadow/observe them while they are working.)

4 Respect the work of the group we study and their right to get on with their work meaning that we aim to get the kind of data that is easily obtainable rather than push for more. When needed, we adapt our methods of data collection (see next page).

GUIDELINES FOR DATA COLLECTION

METHOD	SHARED GUIDELINES	COMMENTS
Video recordings	1 – Recordings from different stages of the collaboration i.e. beginning, middle, and end. 2 – Record activities that participants orient to as bounded events, or recurring events. 3 – Record as much as possible	Where possible, observe the field first before choosing what and how to record.
Self-recordings	N/A	Self-recordings should be accompanied by participant logs to help interpret the data.
Interviews	A semi-structured interview guideline will be jointly developed.	Audio and/or video recorded
Field notes	1 – Primary research questions should guide the observations 2 – Demographic information (where, when, who, what) 3 – Descriptive notes i.e. daily routines and interactions between members 4 – Reflective notes, memos/ideas for further data collection 5 – Further common themes to guide observation can be agreed on	Field notes should be written 'in action' or immediately after the observations, ideally on the same day. Longer reflections meant for sharing should be typed up preferably on the same day.
Documents etc.	N/A	Depending on what is possible: 1 – Photos from site 2 – Public documents 3 – Emails or Skype recordings

19. Appendix H: Consent form

INFORMATION SHEET

The research project that you are being asked to participate in is part of a larger project carried out by researchers from the University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen Business School, Newcastle University and the University of Oslo. The purpose of the project is to investigate communication and collaboration in international workplaces and international organisations. The project is funded by the Danish Council for Independent Research.

What does participation in the research project involve?
You are being asked to take part in the audio and/or video recordings of your work-related day-to-day activities. You may also be invited to participate in conversations with the researcher, which will also be recorded.

Participation is voluntary and anonymous
Participation in the research project is voluntary. Whether you choose to participate in the research project or not will have no consequences for you or your conditions of employment. Participation in the project is also anonymous. This means that in later use of the recorded material your name will be removed where used, and your comments will be adjusted so they cannot be associated with you (where necessary). Likewise, the organisation you are part of ([redacted] is also guaranteed anonymity. You may at any point stop your participation in the research without having to give an explanation, simply let it be known to the researcher.

What are the recordings used for?
The audio-visual files will be securely stored and transcribed. Members of the research team will use the material and the transcripts for purposes of research and education. Anonymised excerpts from the recordings and/or transcripts may be shown to other researchers at conferences, be used in teaching and in communication with the wider public, and included in publications.

Should you have any further questions, feel free to contact the principal researcher, Katherine Kappa.

CONSENT FORM

Research collaboration with [redacted]

By signing this consent form you agree to participate in the research project as explained in the above information sheet. You agree to being recorded and to these recordings being used for purposes of research and education as described in the information sheet.

I, the participant, agree to these conditions (please use CAPITAL LETTERS):

Name: Email:

Signature: Date:

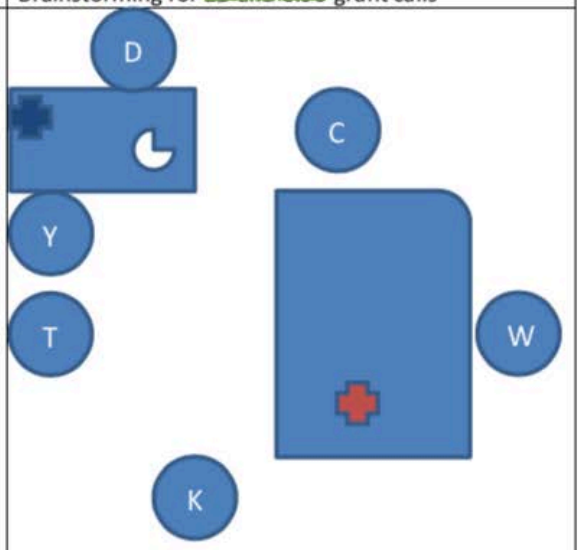
I, the principal researcher, agree to these conditions:

Name: Katherine Kappa Email: kkappa@hum.ku.dk

Signature: Date:

20. Appendix I: Example of recording log

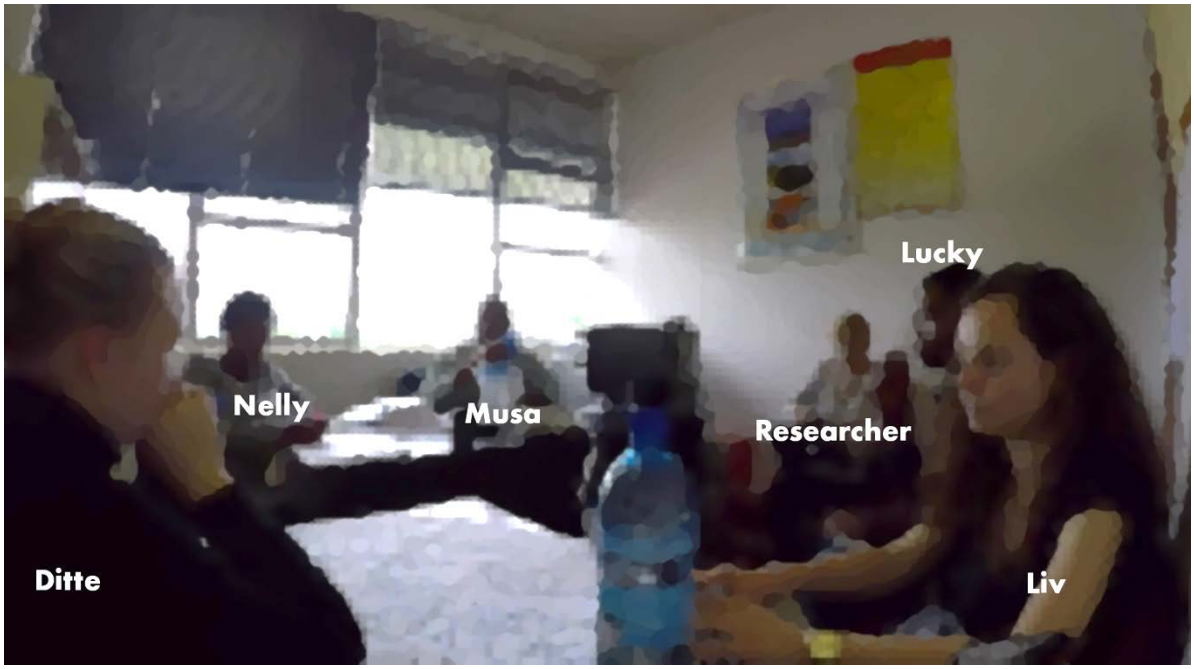
Recording log template #17

Date	21st Feb 2017, Tuesday
Time	11.30 +/-
Recording files	KK_20170221_ASG_NOI_e2_GoPro1_1-6 KK_20170221_ASG_NOI_e2_GoPro2_1-12 KK_20170221_ASG_NOI_e2_Zoom_1MS/XY
Place of recording	[redacted]s office at [redacted]
Participants	[redacted] leader) (W) [redacted]ccountant) (C) [redacted] organiser) (T) [redacted] (volunteer) (D) [redacted] (volunteer) (Y) Katherine (researcher) (K)
Activity	Brainstorming for [redacted] grant calls
Recording equipment positions and participants' positions Blue cross – gopro1 Red cross – gopro2 Pakman - audiorecorder	
Contextual information (why this activity, why these participants, what happened just before the recording)	[redacted] is sitting behind his desk, [redacted] is sitting behind [redacted]'s desk (I think it is his?). At first everyone had gathered in the board room but since it was booked for someone else, they decided to move to [redacted]s office. Very tight settings for recording. [redacted] sat where I was first but realising that he might not see [redacted] from that angle, I suggested we swap places. He agreed. The purpose of this meeting was to get [redacted] ideas about what should be included in the [redacted] grant call proposals. Previously [redacted] and [redacted] had collected their ideas and were using that to jumpstart and keep the interaction organised. This is the second time all of [redacted]s staff and [redacted] volunteers work together on this visit.

21. Appendix J: Feedback session clips

Clip #1

Brainstorming meeting 1, Day 3

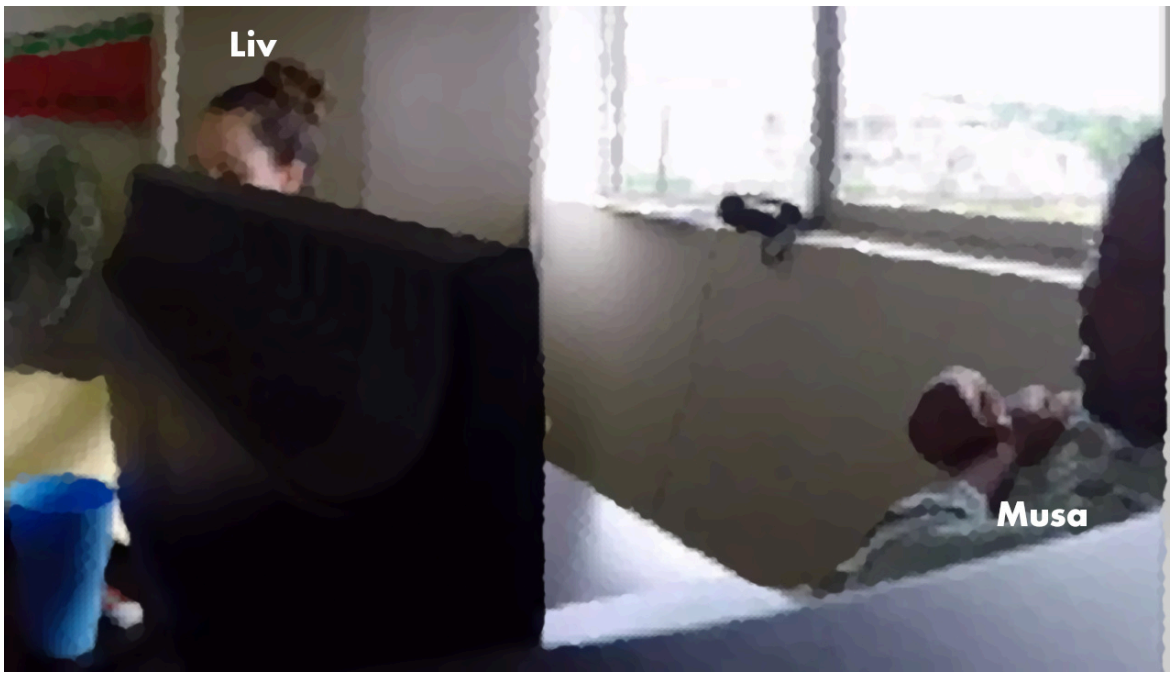



```
11      *DIT:   how does that sound
12      (1.4)
13      *LIV:   say it again
14      (1.6)
15      *DIT:   if we:: (0.4.) for the Donor Green we have those three
16              like the campaign
17      *LIV:   m[hm]
18      *DIT:    [ob]jective (0.7) an objec- (0.1) objective for research and media
19              and then an objective for organisational development (0.4)
20      *MUS:   mhm (0.4)
21      *DIT:   and then for the Donor Red we have research and media
22              and organisational development (0.7)
23              and then maybe a combin- ehm objective about arts and culture↗
24      (1.3)
25      *MUS:   but (0.1) I'm hearing organisational development on both sides
26      (0.6)
27      *DIT:   yeah (0.2) on research and media
28      (0.6)
29      *MUS:   okay (1.0.) yeah it's [fine]
30      *DIT:                         [so we] works both projects (0.8) both (0.4)
31              projects works at (0.3) towards the same goal (0.5)
32              kind of (0.6) maybe we will phrase them differently but
33      (0.3)
34      *MUS:   yah
35      *DIT:   but so we [actu]ally have the projects on the same goal
36      *LIV:             [mhm ]
37      (0.4)
38      *MUS:   okay (0.5) suits perfect
39      (0.3)
40      *DIT:   I think that ma- makes (0.4) it will make it (0.4)
41              the easiest way to handle
```

```
(0.4)
*NEL:   mhm
(0.6)
*DIT:   and then the campaign part (0.2) that will be on the
        [Donor Green]
*LIV:   [Donor Green]
*NEL:   mhm
*DIT:   and then we will (0.7) maybe make something (0.5)
        find a way around it with culture and arts (0.5) do[ing]
*MUS:                                                      [mhm]
*DIT:   campaigns for this (1.5) workshopping (0.8)
        ish campaign [frames ]
*LIV:                [I think] that's a really good idea
```

Clip #2

Text production meeting 2, Day 3

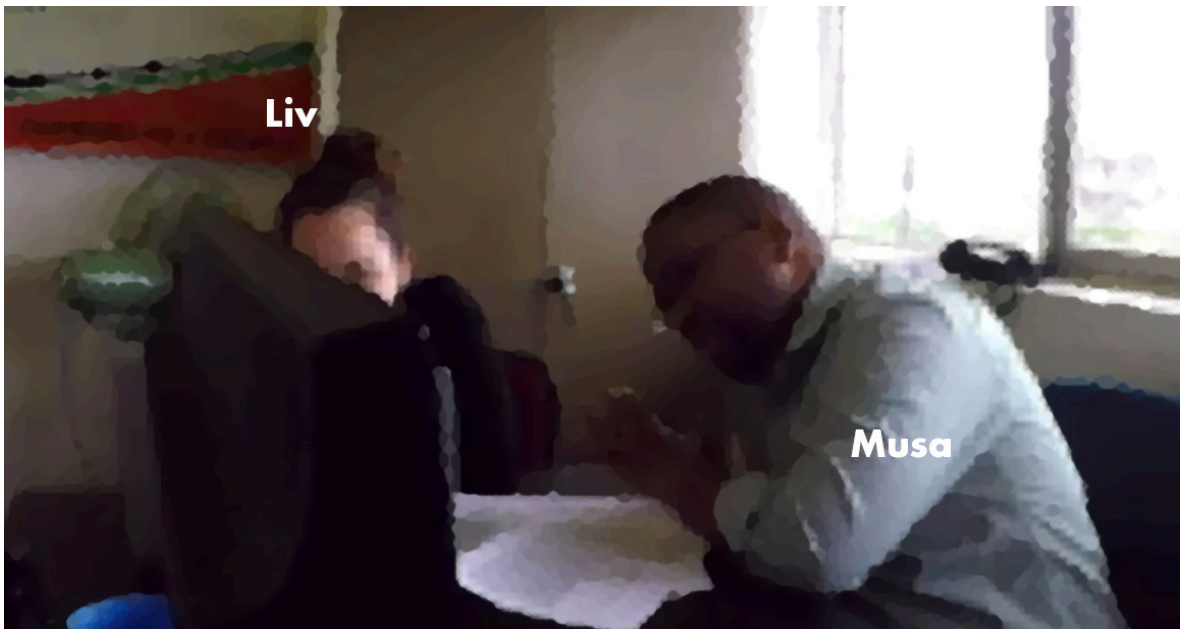


8	*MUS:	uuh it's difficult though to put down it
9		because they have not think about (very) clear
10	*LIV:	£ohkay£
11	*MUS:	but we just take from what we think we follow here
12	*LIV:	mmhm
13	*MUS:	slot up into the parts
14	(1.3)	
15	*MUS:	so these days this is january
16	*LIV:	yeah
17	(0.8)	
18	*MUS:	and here it's february (and again)
19		and we're slotting (0.7) in the main
20		we are beginning the group meeting (1.0)
21		capacity building and leadrshi:p public speaki:ng (0.4)
22		workshop (1.5)
23		(xx) looking (xx) january
24		(xx) organisers
25		planning the work (1.0) on (1.7)
26		planning worksh:::op something is missing here
27	*LIV:	((chuckles)) (0.3) yeah
28	(0.5)	
29	*MUS:	it's supposed to be::
30		training and planning
31	*LIV:	mmhm
32	(1.4)	
33	*MUS:	then:: here (because) the usual board and
34		steering committee meetings
35	*LIV:	because you have that every month right
36	*MUS:	that we have every month
37	*LIV:	yeah
38	(0.7)	
39	*MUS:	then:: when we get into februa::ry (0.7)
40		we:: start the organisation: the affiliates campaigns
41	*LIV:	mmhm
42	*MUS:	starting with [name of affiliate partner] (1.0) [name of af.part.]
43	(1.3)	
44	*LIV:	they have one month each
45	*MUS:	yes: you remember we [said]

*LIV: [mhm]
*MUS: one month each partner one month [each affiliate]
*LIV: [mmhm]
*MUS: one month each affiliate (0.9)
that takes us to almost september
*LIV: mmhm
(0.4)
*MUS: ehm::
(0.9)
*LIV: I thought we talked about doing three months per affiliate
(0.8)
or will it just take another round when everyone's been through
(0.7)
*MUS: three months per affiliate
that would be too long
*LIV: that's too long okay
*MUS: eeh owing to the capacity of the partners
as well as (0.8) managing risk
*LIV: mhm
(0.7)
*MUS: I think a month will be fine
*LIV: okay
(1.2)
*MUS: it should be fine (1.0) if: it ends: early it's fine
we can start all over the process of (xx)
*LIV: mmhm
*MUS: bu::t we have a number of affiliates
I don't think we can (1.6) we will just do once
one per year (0.7) [one] partner per year each partner per year
*LIV: [(but/okay)]
*MUS: until we exhaust all of them and then (0.8)
we do:: one we do together
*LIV: mm
(0.7)
*MUS: somewhere we slotted the: (2.4)
someone who slotted the big campaign (0.8) the big march
*LIV: mmhm
(0.5)
*MUS: ((sniffs) (0.6) excuse me though there (1.5)
though (0.3) so far there is a confursion around (0.8)
when do we think we will do the big march (1.9)
I'm assuming the big march we will do in 20 19
(1.9)
*LIV: yeah
(1.1)
*MUS: so then the question if: (0.5) we will (xx) it 2019 (1.6)
the question will then BE (1.8)
what are these activities
these activities that what will come from Donor Green
*LIV: °mmhm°
(0.5)
*MUS: will it then mean (1.1) we will do 2018 (1.8)
Donor Red activities (1.0) exhaust them (1.1)
then 2019 do (0.9) Donor Green (1.0)
or we will interchange
*LIV: mmhm
(0.9)
*MUS: that's where I'm a bit (0.8) I'm a bit lost
*LIV: £yes£
(0.9)
*MUS: maybe we didn't get to speak about that
*LIV: no we didn't

Clip #3

Text production meeting 1, Day 3



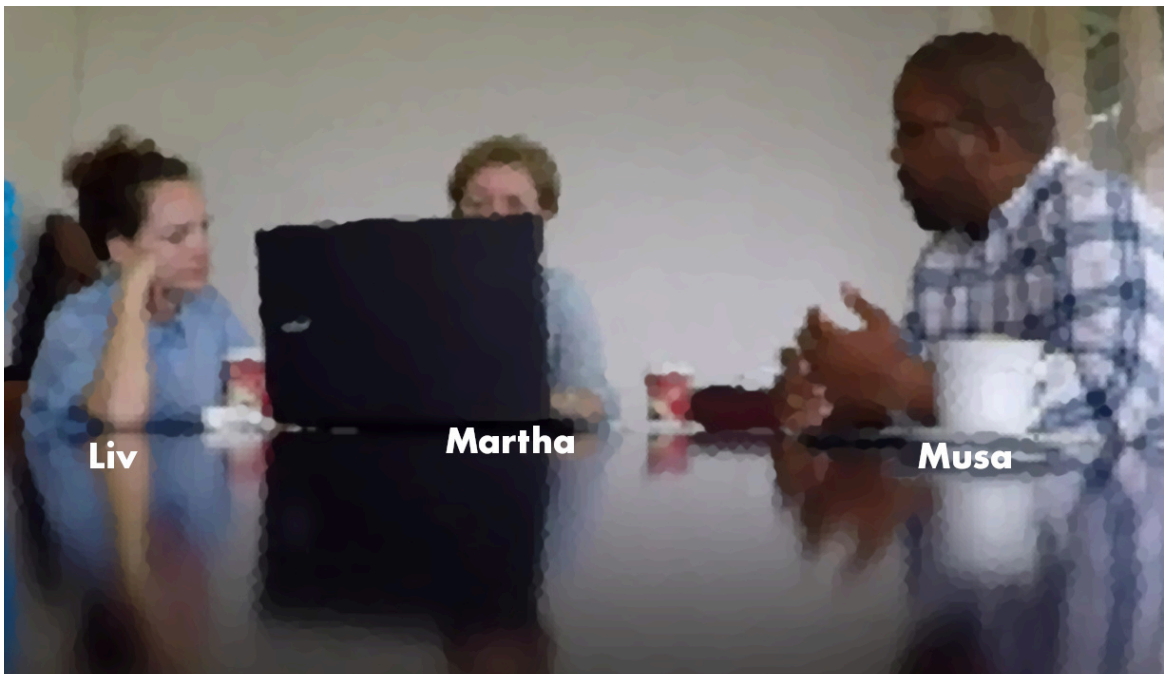

```
*LIV:   okay (0.5) Swazi Democracy will strategically (0.5)
        target relevant actors through media and international lobby
        (2.4)
        but relevant actors (0.8) in relation to what
*MUS:   Swaziland will strategically target relevant (2.0) actors (1.0)
        through media and international lobbying (1.0) ee::h
*YRG:   no
(0.7)
*MUS:   no::oh (0.8) Swaziland will aah pts heh
*LIV:   [((chuckles))]
*MUS:   [(xx        )]
*MUS:   £careful£ .hh strategically target (3.3)
        development partners (1.4)
        and international ngos (1.4)
        through strategic (1.0) engagement (1.0) and lobby (1.1)
*LIV:   but is it only them you wanna target
        you also wanna research about the government here
*MUS:   yies
*LIV:   so maybe we should frame it more openly (1.1)
        ehm (3.4)
        something about Swazi Democracy will make themself more visible
        (0.4) in the media (0.5)
*MUS:   [mhm]
*LIV:   [but] will also (0.4) target (1.3) actors inflicted in Swazila-
        it's very long now but [((laughs))    ]
*MUS:                          [yeah it's very]
*MUS:   it's becoming too long
*LIV:   yeah
(4.5)
*MUS:   Swazi Democracy (0.7) will engage in strategic engagement (1.5)
        and lobbying (2.2) as well as (0.8)
        secur- s:::e research (2.6)
*LIV:   heh so will engage in strategic
(0.8)
*MUS:   engagement
(0.6)
*LIV:   through media (0.3) or what did you say
(0.6)
*MUS:   w:ill engage in strategic engage- (0.7) s- st-
        ish (1.0) ish ish ish ish
*LIV:   we can't have engagement twice
*MUS:   hm Swaziland ah pts £Swazi Democracy£ heh will engage in strategic
        (0.6) lobbying
(8.1)
```

```
53    *LIV:   and
54    (1.9)
55    *MUS:   will strategic lobbying and
56    (2.0)
57    *LIV:   will
58    (3.6)
59    *MUS:   no:h (0.4) we would rather say Swazi Democracy will engage in
60            strategic lobby
61    *LIV:   mmhm
62    (0.4)
63    *MUS:   and
64    (3.8)
65    *LIV:   where does the media come in [then]
66    *MUS:   [and]
67    (1.4)
68    *LIV:   provide research
69    *MUS:   provide (1.5) investigat- (2.3) provide  (0.8)
70            media u::::h
71    *LIV:   ((chuckles))
72    (0.6)
73    *MUS:   you know do this thing in the morning (0.4)
74    *LIV:   mm
75    *MUS:   heh heh £my mind is still£ heh [£at it's] best£
76    *LIV:                                  [ha ha   ]
77    *LIV:   ha ha [ha ha  ]
78    *MUS:         [heh heh]
79    *LIV:   .hhh
80    *MUS:   hh. heh .hh
81    *LIV:   I I like this one about putting pressure on the S:wazi state
82    (0.7)
83    *MUS:   mhm
84    *LIV:   that's what you wanna do kind of but th- via the media right
85    *MUS:   yea::h
86    (1.0)
87    *LIV:   ((sighs)) so[o    ]
88    *MUS:               [Swazi] Democracy will engage in strategic lobbying
89            (1.1) and (2.0)  intense media work (5.5)
90            ehm (12.8) yeah but you are correct (2.4)
91            via research (3.9) full stop
92    (2.0)
93    *LIV:   aim to put pressure on the Swazi regime
94    *MUS:   yies
95    (9.4)
96    *MUS:   ye:: rapid arrest
97    (1.6)
98    *LIV:   mm
99    *MUS:   you need to get this
100   *LIV:   yeah
101   (3.4)
102   *MUS:   those are the objectives
103   *LIV:   ((chuckles))
104   (1.4)
105   *LIV:   but we don't mention media in here now but maybe
106   (6.1)
107   *MUS:   Swazi Democracy will enga:::ge in strategic lobby::ing
108   (0.7)
109   *LIV:   research and (0.4) and (0.4) increa::sed (0.4) media presence
110   (0.5)
111   *MUS:   hm
112   (2.0)
113   *MUS:   somewhere you need to Swazi Democracy will engage in strategic
114           lobbying  (3.6) via research
115   (1.5)
116   *LIV:   through
117   (4.6)
118   *MUS:   and then (xx) means remove the and they will
119   (2.7)
120   *LIV:   [eeh]
121   *MUS:   [and] they will (4.5)
122           throu:gh research and increased media presence  (0.6) yah now it makes sense
123   (1.0)
124   *MUS:   [aim to put pressure   ]
125   *LIV:   [research and increased]
126   (3.0)
```

127 *MUS: through research and increased
128 *LIV: but we:: (0.4) Swazi Democracy will engage in strategic lobbying
129 (1.3) eh (1.3) through research (3.5) it doesn't even (xx)
130 (2.1)
131 *MUS: through research and increased media presence (0.7)
132 aimed to pressure (0.6) put (0.5) aim at (0.5)
133 aimed to put pressure on the Swazi regime
134 (0.9) yeah looks good now
135 (1.0) Swazi Democracy will engage in strategic lobbying
136 (1.7) and research
137 (3.4)
138 *YRG: .hh what about Swazi Democracy will aim to put pressure on the Swazi
139 regime eh through stragic lobbying research
140 and an increased media [pre]sence
141 *WAN: [oy]
142 *YRG: yeah
143 *WAN: oy::
144 (5.8)

Clip #4

Monitoring meeting 2, Day 2




```
10    *MAR:   uhm (1.4) if (0.7) when the meetings
11            the official meetings were held
12    (0.3)
13    *MUS:   mh
14    (0.3)
15    *MAR:   was there (0.3) like were most people there
16            were most people present
17    *MUS:   yes (0.3) yeah (0.6) uuh
18    *MAR:   on a very tedious but (0.6) I think
19            it's good to show that there's some numbers behind
20    *MUS:   yeah yeah [(xx) ]
21    *MAR:             [right]
22    *MUS:   nor[mally] we had almost the entire staff on both sides
23    *MAR:      [ah   ]
24    (1.0)
25    *MUS:   uhm as well as: leadership (0.3)
26            in the main on our side (1.5) u::h (1.5)
27            on almost all the meetings I'm talking about
28            I'm referring to
29    (2.0)
30    *MAR:   and I think uhm (1.0) cause I think (0.4)
31            what I've (0.8) written here was (0.7)
32            joint collaboration with [name of org] and Swazi Democracy did not
33            materlise as planned for the Democracy Day
34            so I'll I'll just say that meetings were held early
35    *MUS:   mmhm
36    *MAR:   to plan but then it didn't materialise
37    *MUS:   yeah
38    *MAR:   I think that will be cause I think our indicators
39            it just has to be very short
40    *LIV:   very [short]
41    *MUS:        [mhm  ]
42    *MAR:   but I think (0.3) is there any oth- thing else that I should maybe
43            write down for
```

```
*MUS:   but it naturally (0.4) it naturally makes you ta-
        ask the question why
(0.3)
*MAR:   ye[ah]
*LIV:     [£m]hm£
*MUS:   (that what do:)
*MAR:   [ya I agree    ] yeah
*MUS:   [you think what] so:
*MAR:   but I think we can also:
        maybe attribute it a little bit to the: internal struggles
        [of ]
*MUS:   [.hh] ye[ah   ]
*MAR:           [other][org    ]
*LIV:                  [I think] we've done that in the first session
*MAR:   yeah
*MUS:   oh
*MAR:   yeah we've [alr]eady put it in at the
*LIV:              [so ]
(0.4)
*MAR:   other [org ]'s
*MUS:         [yeah]
(0.3)
*LIV:   having some problems
*MAR:   [that their problems are already] yeah
*LIV:   [affecting the collaboration    ]
*MUS:   (xx) idea
*MAR:   yeah so [would-] (0.6) [this is] yeah (0.6)
*MUS:           [(xx)  ]       [perfect]
*LIV:   this should be just one sentence
*MAR:   yeah it should be like one or two [sen ]tences [max    ]
*MUS:                                     [yeah]       [perfect]
*LIV:   yeah
```

22. Appendix K: Conversational teaching examples

Transcript 4 in Section 6.2. continued

Text marked in blue indicates conversational teaching.

```
77    *DIT:   mhm
78    *MUS:   then: (.) is a question of (.) we need this (.)
79            we want this (.) [plea]se pay for an accommodation
80    *DIT:                    [mhm ]
81    *DIT:   m::mhm
82    *MUS:   IF the activity dem[ands] ac[com]modation
83    *NEL:                      [mhm ]
84    *LUC:                                [mm ]
85    *MUS:   if the accommoda- if the they demand the activity
86            says there must be transport
87    *DIT:   mhmm
88    *MUS:   please we have got a bus
89    *DIT:   mhm
90    *MUS:   we've got three quotations we think (.) this is
91            the best one
92    *LUC:   [mhm]
93    *DIT:   [mhm]
94    *MUS:   pay they want [one ] thousand eight hundred (0.6)
95    *DIT:                 [yeah]
96    *MUS:   to transport so many people from here to here (0.7)
97            please pay we pay [you ] take the receipts receipts
98    *DIT:                     [yeah]
99    *MUS:   what else do you want we want banners (1.0) where (0.6)
100           bring quotation (0.4) make the banner (0.5) we pay
101           you have a banner you have transport you have what
102           what you have what what (0.8) that's it (1.6) uhm::
103           it you aah eyh you do a mistake of giving people
104           money
105   *DIT:   mhm
106   *MUS:   then the complete opposite will be the end result of
107           what you wanted
108   *DIT:   yeah
109   *MUS:   you'll have [to  ] have a commission of inquiry:::
110   *DIT:               [yeah]
111   (1.0)
112   *MUS:   you have a ca::se you have to charge the::m they
113           have squandered (0.6) cause yah
114           you you you it's like building a bank in someone
115   *DIT:   mhm
116   *MUS:   who doesn't have money
117   *DIT:   yeah
118   *MUS:   right in his doorstep you build a bank
119   (0.7)
120   *DIT:   so:: yeah yeah so the idea is that (0.9) you will
121           do what we are doing now with them
122           just in small scale right
123   *MUS:   yeah
124   *DIT:   and then: you plan everything with them
125           and they will have to come and say (0.7) so now we::
126           need to pay for this
127   *MUS:   yeah
128   *DIT:   or you need to pay for
129   *MUS:   exactly
```

Additional example of long conversational teaching sequence

Yellow – sequence opener; an open-ended question that points to a past discussion, thereby functioning as an epistemic claim to knowledge but mitigating the right to it by highlighting the source of this knowledge

Blue – conversational teaching; in this example concerning facts about the project (lines 40-55), real-life examples (describing the Swazi society and leaders of the political movement), and broader context/wisdom (notable political figures)

Green – direct answer to the question, note the frequent use of 'so' to produce a summary statement

```
11    *DIT:   so we have this issue about leadership (.)
12            we've talked about that a couple of times
13    *NEL:   mhm
14    *DIT:   so (.) do you have any good ideas of (.) how we:: (.)
15            target this problem with Δ£the leadership isn't good enou
16    (1.5)
17    %com:   everyone is sitting idle, Ditte and Musa look towards
18            each other
19    *MUS:   aygh they will kill you if they hear you [£say that£
20    *NEL:                                           [he he     ]
21    %com:   everyone bursts into laughter for 2.5 sec
22    *ALL:   (((laughter))              ]
23    *NEL:   [£they are not good enough£]
24    *MUS:   ha ha ha ha ha  [he he he he he he  ]
25    %com:   while Musa continues to laugh for another 2 seconds,
26            others are smiling broadly
27    *NEL:                   [especially (within)]
28    *DIT:                   [not STRONG enough  ]
29    *MUS:   [he he he he he he]
30    *LUC:   [ha:::↗]
31    *NEL:           [(      )]
32    *MUS:   he he he
33    *DIT:   [ha: ha: ha]
34    *LIV:   [he he     ]
35    *MUS:   £.kh::: .hhh I- I- it's good you said it £whith us£
36    *DIT:   ha ha ha ha [ha ha ha ha                      ]
37    *MUS:               [£if you said it in their presence£]
38            £they would be not be vhery phleased£
39    *DIT:   [ha:: ha ha ha]
40    *MUS:   [hah ha       ] .hh::: I think it's an old issue
41            [comrades] it's not something new::
42    *DIT:   [mhm::   ]
43    *MUS:   and I think there has been an effort to try and address
44            it (.) for instance (.) this thing of:: investing in
45            lower:: (0.8) layers of leadership [in low]er structures
```

*DIT: [mhm]
*MUS: if you read the proj- the current project you will find
something like that
*DIT: yeah
*MUS: in the pr[oject]
*DIT: [yeah]
(0.5)
*MUS: and there are activities
*DIT: mhm
*MUS: attached to that ob[ject]ive
*DIT: [mhm]
(2.3)
%com: Musa looks down at his table, everyone else looks to Musa
*MUS: I don't know how this time we can (.) I- o- I-
I think this time we need to do what I would call targeted
(1.3)
%com: Musa looks towards Ditte during pause
*DIT: what↗
*MUS: targeted leadership buil[ding]
*DIT: [yeah]
(1.2)
%com: Musa and Ditte continue to look towards each other
*MUS: which is to say (2.9) the leadership question has remained
one of the challenges of the Swazi struggle
*DIT: mhm
%com: Ditte starts making notes on the A3 sheet
*MUS: where people (0.6) organizations come up (0.6) very good
(1.1) but because of poor leadership (.) [at some] stage
*DIT: [mhm]
*MUS: they collapse (1.6) they collapse even before they say
%com: Ditte stops taking notes during pause
* the police have detained our leader [arrest]ed our leader
*DIT: [mhm]
*MUS: or what (0.7) the leader just fails to do his or her job
(0.8) and in the process kills the- contributes to (.)
%com: Ditte starts taking notes at turn end
* throws the organization into a disarray
(0.6)
%com: Musa looks to Ditte, who stops taking notes
*DIT: mhm
(0.8)
%com: Musa and Ditte look towards each other
*MUS: so I would say there should be a targeted investment (0.7)
in leadership question (0.6) because it has shown (.)
%com: Ditte starts taking notes at turn end
* that in the Swazi situation (0.6) it's a problem
*DIT: mhm
(1.0)
%com: Ditte stops taking notes towards the end of the pause
*MUS: which is part of which I agree to say it will be
investing in public speaking (0.8) part of our pr-
problem (0.7) is even some of our leader there is not
many of them (0.8) they struggle to speak publicly
*DIT: mmhm
(2.5)
%com: Ditte and Musa look towards each other

```
*MUS:   and I think I was talking to Katherine later earlir on
        to say (0.8) you need (.) to understand the Swazi society
*DIT:   mhm
*MUS:   it's not by accident
*DIT:   mhm
*MUS:   that general (0.6) Swa- a person on the street struggles
%com:   Musa points his finger out the window behind him during pause,
        then puts hand down again
*       to express him[self] (.) it is part of the consequ[ence]
*DIT:                 [yeah]                                [yeah]

*MUS:   of the closed
*DIT:   mhm
*MUS:   society (0.8) where from childhood (1.0) you are taught
        not [to ] (.) express yourself (1.4) if you express yourself
*DIT:       [mhm]
*MUS:   you must express yourself in a particular fashion
*DIT:   yeah
(0.8)
*MUS:   for instance (0.7) you must praise from childhood you are
        praise authorities (.) you must [respect] there's overemphasis
*DIT:                                   [mhm    ]
*MUS:   on respect (.) even to a point (2.2) of what do you call it
%com:   Ditte starts taking notes during pause, Musa is looking
        towards Lucky during pause
*MUS:   to the point of of of (1.2) supressing (0.6) you know
        when you re- you are told to respect to a point of you are
%com:   Ditte stops taking notes during 'respect'
*       suppressed
*DIT:   mhm
*MUS:   you must never show your feelings
(0.8)
%com:   Ditte and Musa look towards each other
*DIT:   yea
(0.6)
*MUS:   if you are not happy don't show it
*DIT:   mhm
*MUS:   if you show it show it very subtle (1.2) that you are not happy
        it's it's part of your problem (1.7) if you do it you are
        viewed as (.) yaa this one (.) problematic
(2.3)
%com:   Musa and Ditte look towards each other
*DIT:   mhm
*MUS:   so:: it's not by accident

(0.6)
%com:   Musa and Ditte look at each other
*DIT:   no
(0.6)
%com:   Musa and Ditte look at each other
*MUS:   so we need to un- (0.6) we need to deconstruct
*DIT:   mhm
```

*MUS: THAT
*DIT: mhm
*MUS: as part of building we need to make that targeted effort
of deconstructing
*DIT: yeah
*MUS: that mindset (0.9) of (1.45) don't expressing your not
[expre]ssing yourself (1.2) not being articulate (1.4)
*DIT: [mhm]
*MUS: because public speaking alone
*NEL: yeah
*MUS: has proven historically in many struggles
*DIT: mhm
*MUS: probably the most important (.) Hitler (1.1) started the
World War II (1.7) part of his BIGGEST strength (1.1)
was public speaking
*DIT: yeah
*LIV: mhm
*MUS: how he inspired [the] Germans (.)
*DIT: [Ger-]
*DIT: hehe
*MUS: built the Nazi war [machine] (1.2) many African leaders
*DIT: [mmhm]
*MUS: ( ) Koroma [what] made Koroma to (0.8) organize
*NEL: [mhm]
*MUS: the [(ghana]nians) (0.8) was not many thing- it was
*DIT: [yeah]
*MUS: public speaking
*DIT: yeah
(0.6)
%com: Musa and Ditte look at each other
*MUS: how he sell::s the dream (1.0) you know we still have
that challenge I was even saying I think at the beginning
(0.8) the mozambiqueans had Samora Machel
*DIT: £mhm£
(0.7)
%com: Musa and Ditte look at each other
*MUS: he was their (.) advocate
*DIT: yeah
*MUS: he was the messe[nger] of good news he was ABLE to SAY
*DIT: [yeah]
*MUS: the news (.) sometimes we know what we want to say (0.7)
and [what we want] to say is good
*NEL: [he was good]
*NEL: mhm
*MUS: but HOW do we say it↗
*DIT: mmhm
(1.3)
%com: Musa and Ditte look at each other
*MUS: do the Swazi (.) [hear] you↗ can a Swazi hear [you↗]
*DIT: [mhm] [mmhm]
*MUS: can you INSPI::RE↗
*DIT: yeah
(1.3)
%com: Musa and Ditte look at each other
*MUS: for ME:: (.) my (weakly) experience in the Swazi
struggle (0.6) eh (.) those are some areas where we lose it
(2.1)
%com: Musa and Ditte look at each other

```
211   *       to a point that I am not too confident who is the Swazi
212           Samora Machel (1.6) who is the Mandela
213   (0.5)
214   *DIT:   [yeah        ]
215   *MUS:   [of Swaziland]
216   (0.8)
217   *DIT:   [yeah maybe your-]
218   *MUS:   [and part of:    ] Mandela must admit one thing (.) was
219           quite articulate (1.1) quite articulate (.) from the 40s (0.9)
220           when you just put him and say [SPEAK] (.) what do the

221   *DIT:                                       [mmhm ]
222           south african want
223   *DIT:   £mhm£
224   *MUS:   jesus (.) even today when you watch documentary and
225           interviews you're like [YAH:::  ] (.) this guy (2.7)
226   *DIT:                          [he he he]
227   *MUS:   but in my country (1.0) and I'm not undermining the efforts
228           of comrades at all (.) I love them

229   *DIT:   mhm
230   *MUS:   I respect most [of my] elders (.) but I do think (0.9) aygh
231   *DIT:                  [mmhm ]
232   *MUS:   on that area (.) and it didn't come naturally (.) these
233           people were trained
234   *DIT:   ye ye yeah
235   *MUS:   they were TRAINED (.) so I think
236   *LUC:   hmm
237   *MUS:   it's one area in my view they have to-
238   *DIT:   but who do we need to train then
```

Line 238 functions as a closing turn that simultaneously opens a new sequence.

23. Appendix L: Conversational teaching in numbers

Here I present quantitative observations on the phenomenon of conversational teaching. Table 4 illustrates the occurrence of 'wisdom' type conversational teaching over time, as defined in Section 6.2.2.

Table 4: Occurrence of conversational teaching over time

	Monitoring	Brainstorming	Final planning
Instances of conversational teaching	12	7	6
Total duration of meetings (hrs)	4	2.5	2.5
Average no. of instances per hour	3	2.8	2.4

Quantitatively speaking, there is only a marginal difference in the number of instances of conversational teaching over the course of the project visit. Having said that, the change that does take place over time is qualitative. Namely, questions that make a knowledge claim come to be responded to with conversational teaching even in the final planning stage (e.g. Transcript 5 in Section 6.2.3).

In Table 5, I illustrate the number of times various sequence openers bring about the 'wisdom' type conversational teaching as a response. I further divided the sequence openers into whether they make an explicit knowledge claim (e.g. in the form of proposals, direct reference to knowledge i.e. 'I know that') or whether they do not (e.g. open-ended questions that do not highlight the source of knowledge, or which cannot be related to an earlier recorded discussion). Table 5 demonstrates Musa's consistent orientation to the volunteers as learners who require conversational teaching, regardless of the fact that the volunteers make more knowledge claims in their sequence openers over time.

Table 5: Conversational teaching and types of sequence openers

	Monitoring	Brainstorming	Final planning
Total no. of instances of conversational teaching	12	7	6
Questions without epistemic claim	8	3	0
Questions with epistemic claim	5	4	6

24. Appendix M: Writing a development project

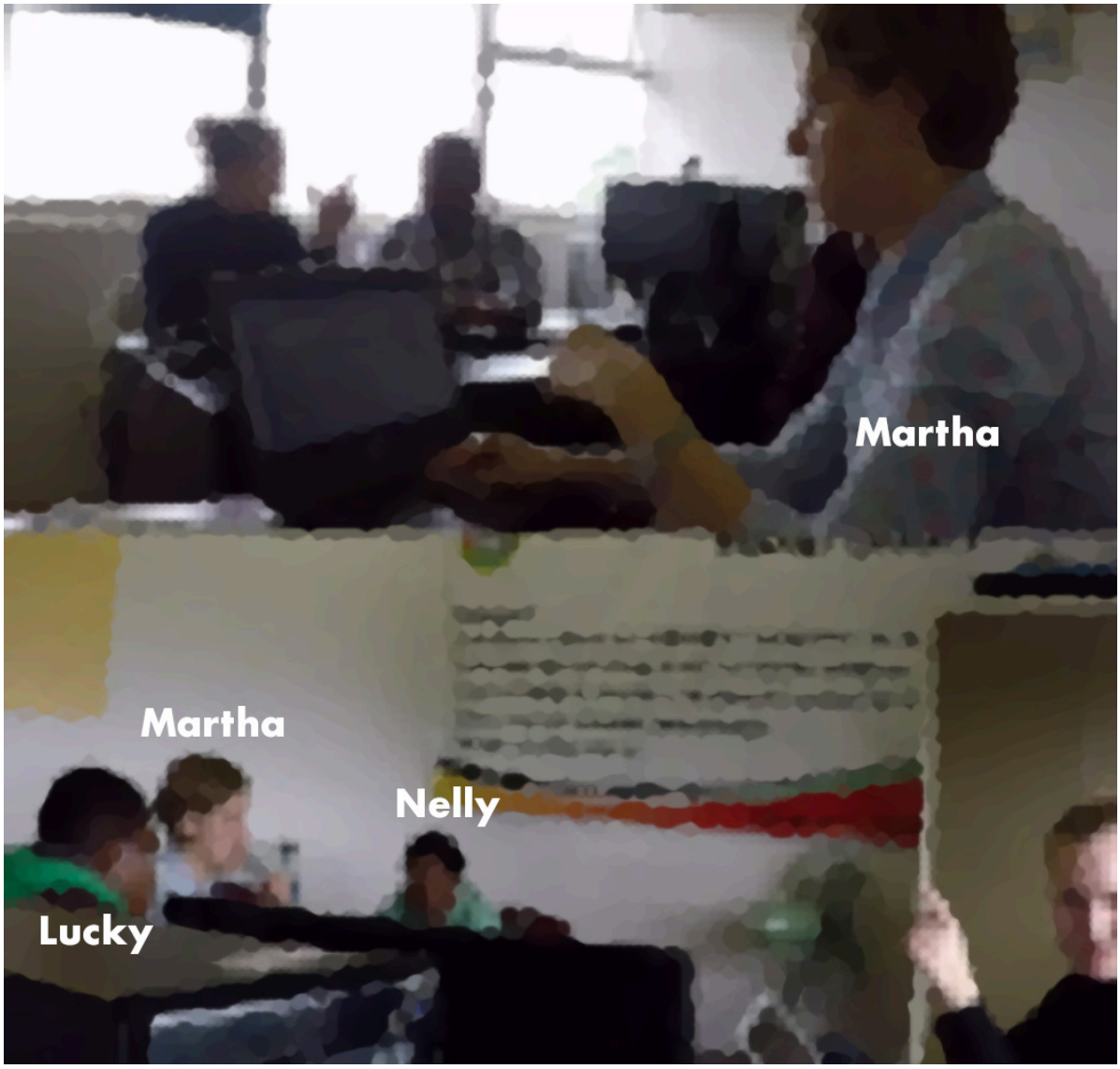
Example 1

Text production meeting 2, Day 4


```
%com:    Nelly, Liv and Martha are sitting behind Liv's laptop
*LIV:    what would be an indicator for conflict resolution (0.4)
%com:    Liv turns towards Martha, Nelly already looks at Martha
         that there is £lhess£ he he
*MAR:    [yea::h] I would say: like how many (.) times (0.2) do=
*NEL:    [(xxx )]
*MAR:    =they meet
(0.6)
%com:    Martha rubs her eye, Nelly and Liv look at Martha
*NEL:    [the ones that]
*LIV:    [but the      ] conflict resolution will only come (.)
         when there is a conflict
*MAR:    exac[tly]
*NEL:        [yes]
*LIV:    they shouldn't meet just to [meet]
*NEL:                                [mhm ]
*MAR:    nononono but exactly how many times like they
         [do:             ] have to meet
*LIV:    [oh have to meet ]
%com:    Liv leans forward and starts to type, Nelly looks to screen
*MAR:    yeah
*LIV:    ho:w ma:ny ti:mes
```

Example 2

Budget planning meeting, Day 6




```
8     %com:   Martha is looking at her laptop; Lucky is looking
9             towards Nelly; Nelly is looking at Martha
10    *MAR:   where the- where's the ar- arts and culture
11            festival being held
12    (1.7)
13    %com:   Martha looks towards Nelly at turn end; Lucky is
14            already looking at Nelly; Nelly looks at Martha but
15            frowns
16    *LUC:   arts and culture we need to [(                )]
17    %com:   Nelly gazes towards Lucky as he starts to speak
18    *MAR:                                [festival yeah is it]
19            gonna be in
20    *LUC:   even if even if it's a it's a it's a (          )
21    *NEL:   how many times is it one if it's once
22    %com:   Nelly looks to both Lucky and Martha
23    *LUC:   yeah it should be once let's make it 200 (        )
24    %com:   Nelly looks to Lucky
```

*NEL: 500
%com: Nelly looks to Martha, who meets her gaze
*MAR: 500↗
*NEL: on the safe side [yes]
*LUC: [yaa]
*MAR: for both festivals↗
%com: Martha points to laptop screen at 'festivals' while keeping eye contact; Nelly frowns at Martha's turn end and looks towards the laptop
*LUC: ( ) go for two years
%com: at turn end Martha points to a specific place in the excel sheet; Nelly observes; Lucky looks at Nelly
*MAR: because we're having an [we're having an]
*NEL: [whow it's two years↗]
*MAR: ((reads out loud)) arts and culture one day festival two times a year
*LUC: mhm
*NEL: okay (.) yeah (1.5) yeah it's one thousand
%com: Nelly looks to Martha at 'one', which is when Martha places hands to type
* for the two
*(4.1)
%com: Martha retracts hands and starts to take notes in her notebook instead; Nelly looks back at the laptop; Lucky looks at the laptop also

25. Appendix N: Project visit plan

Fourth Project Visit | 2017

Terms of Reference

Fourth Project Visit for [redacted]

Overall Purpose

- Making a strategic plan for the next three or so years of [redacted] work; this should be an "overhead" plan which contains all the main activities and objectives that will then be written into the 2 project applications ([redacted]). What to keep, change or discard from the strategies applied in the current project.
- This will also warrant an evaluation of the progress this far within the project but also within the organization and the movement at large. Especially focusing on and consulting:
    - The leadership
    - The organizers
    - The staff

Objectives and Deliverables

The main objectives include:

- Make an LFA-type plan (some main objectives, specific objectives, outcomes, main activities and the general "methodology") which is as precise as possible
- Have a constructive evaluation of the past 2 years of the project and draw some clear steps forward from there
- Have open consultations with all the major players in the organization – improve direct connection between [redacted]
- Get a brief financial overview of the year 2016 and make a small budget revision if necessary
- Strengthen the overall partnership between [redacted]

The main deliverables include:

- A draft project plan (LFA), ideally sub-divided into [redacted]
- A draft annual status report to [redacted] (deadline is 1st March 2017) with the main insights from the evaluation
- (Only if necessary) an updated budget and overview of all expenditures for 2016
- Possibly making an implementation plan for the last part of the activities taking place in South Africa in march

Participants:

- **3** [redacted]
- [redacted] **Staff**
- [redacted] **(some of the time)**
- **Organizers (some of the time)**

Risks

- A risk based on past experiences is that the leadership might be less engaged than we hope with the planning of the future projects, resulting in low commitment and low ownership towards them. However, we are hopeful that this will not be the case, given all the positive developments we have witnessed within [redacted] in the last year or so.
- Time constraint may become a problem and potentially result in inability to complete a framework/strategy in the time of the visit, which will force us to work more "remotely" afterwards – therefore we must try and be as time-efficient as possible